THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. V April, 1955 No. 4

EDITORIAL

The Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, the subject of a Symposium in our issue of January 1954 [1] was debated in the House of Commons on the 10th February, 1955.[2] A motion that for a period of five years imprisonment for life should take the place of capital punishment for murder was defeated by 245 to 214 votes. Although the vote was free, most, but not all, members of the Opposition voted for, and most members of the Conservative Party against, the motion. A large number of members, notably from the Opposition, abstained. No new arguments emerged from the debate, but several speeches made by supporters of the motion were impressive and convincing. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the reply of the Home Secretary, Major Lloyd George, was his statement that the Government had ' not yet come to any final conclusion about the major proposals of the Commission. They propose to examine them again in the light of the debate this afternoon ' (col. 2071). Nevertheless, to many his speech must have given the impression that the Government had in fact already decided not to accept any of the major recommendations of the Commission. As Mr. Paton put it (col. 2163), ' nothing could have been more decisive than what the right hon. and gallant gentleman said '; and it seems also true that the Home Secretary, in rejecting that idea, ' offered nothing in its place ' (col. 2166). While admitting that some of the Commission's recommendations ' might be useful amendments of the law ' and that the M'Naghten Rules might be open to criticism the Home Secretary nevertheless stated it to be the view of the Government that with regard to these Rules ' no advantage would be gained by disturbing the present position and that it is better to leave matters as they are ' (col. 2078)! How satisfactory the present position with regard to the M'Naghten Rules in fact is

[1] Vol. IV., No. 3. [2] Hansard. (Cols. 2070–2190).

can be clearly seen in the comments on the Straffen case printed below (p. 313). The only minor concession made by the Government is apparently the acceptance of the recommendation that in murder cases an outside psychiatrist should always be consulted in addition to the prison doctor. That the Government should have felt no inclination to adopt the principle of ' jury discretion ' is hardly surprising, if only in view of the complete lack of safeguards which characterizes the Commission's formula.[3] In the speeches of Government supporters there were the usual references to public opinion which would not tolerate abolition or even suspension of the death penalty, but in no single case was there any evidence produced to substantiate the claims made on behalf of that elusive factor. The question of which party should bear the onus of proof for their contentions—those who regarded capital punishment as an indispensable deterrent or those who, in agreement with the Royal Commission, took a more sceptical view—was raised by several speakers. It is indeed the crucial issue and, as shown by Sir Frank Soskice and Mr. Paget (cols. 2119 and 2179), the onus can only be on those who wish to retain the outmoded penalty of death. In short, the debate has done nothing to weaken our conviction that, whether or not the recommendations of the Royal Commission will be accepted, sooner or later abolition is bound to come.

In his communication in this number, Professor Rylander reminds us of the changes in forensic medicine which occurred in Sweden in 1946; a change which has led to a cleavage between Anglo-Saxon theory and practice and the Swedish approach. From that date the principle involved in our M'Naghten Rule was abandoned. That this rule sprang from the moral philosophy of the early nineteenth century has not been sufficiently stressed either by jurists or alienists. Hegel had argued that the moral nature and responsibility of man sprang from priority of Reason, and in later years the great Hegelian McTaggart in discussing Punishment not only argued in its favour but laid it down on logical grounds that it was the undeniable privilege of man as a moral being to receive it. The primary aim of Punishment was punishment and the meliorative element was entirely secondary if not merely incidental. As the Rule stands to-day it leaves the impression that psychiatry can detect the capacity to make moral judgments and to act upon them. As Rylander points out, this cannot be the task of the psychiatrist; indeed, though he himself a moral agent, his scientific instruments cannot measure good or evil nor assess the capacity to judge as between right and wrong except in cases of pronounced imbecility and dementia where the instrument of judgment is crippled. The Swedes have taken the logic of the situation

[3] See this Journal, Vol. IV., p. 171.

into their own hands and have finally decided to adopt an entirely biological viewpoint in medico-forensic matters appertaining to criminal behaviour. It is a matter of some interest that two cultures so close geographically and so allied ethically as the Swedish and the Anglo-Saxon should have diverged so widely on so vital an issue as the punishment and treatment of offenders against the morals of the group. Having taken up the biological standpoint the Swedes do not seem to have abandoned legal usages; and no awkward medico-legal situation appears to have arisen. After ten years the new system Rylander describes works well. The community, though recognizing mental causes for some of the minor as of the severest crimes, does not abrogate its right to segregate and thus to protect society and at the same time to adopt a therapeutic attitude towards the offender. Recognization of degrees of mental abnormality on the Swedish model need not sacrifice justice on the altar of any scientific theory of conduct.

While the psychological examination and treatment of the individual prisoner has attracted attention for years and has, in fact, resulted in official action, the sociological study of the prison community is still in its infancy. The existence and importance of social groups in prisons and other correctional institutions are, as Professor James points out in the present issue, only too well-known. Such knowledge has, however, so far led to little systematic study, and all too few attempts have been made, at least outside U.S.A., to exploit for constructive purposes the energies and potentialities of such groups. Recently, the publication of an exceptionally well-informed and searching but fundamentally pessimistic essay on the part played by social group formation in American prisons and on the working of the underground code may have tended to add support to that negative attitude.[4] In a few instances, it is true, some determined efforts have been made to utilize the small group concept in the institutional system of this country: institutions for young offenders of the Q Camp type and others in which use is made of the idea of 'shared responsibility' might be mentioned and, though these are more on psychiatric lines, the promising experiments in group therapy in Wormwood Scrubs Prison.[5] These are isolated instances, however, which do not affect the main mass of prisoners. And, as Professor James indicates, very little can be done in this direction for the short-term prisoner who still forms the great majority of the local prison population. It is in the central, regional and correctional training prisons, in Borstals and Approved Schools

[4] See the review B.J.D., January, 1955, p. 237.

[5] See in particular the emphasis on community therapy in the Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners, for 1953, p. 99, and the recent article by Drs. Landers Macphail and Simpson on Group Therapy in Wormwood Scrubs, Journal of Mental Science, October, 1954.

and other schools for juveniles that the application of small group techniques will be most fruitful. Considering, among other reasons, the fairly substantial number of such prison offences as violence against the person, insubordination, damage to property, trafficking, the need for an improvement of the institutional atmosphere can hardly be disputed. While some of the techniques outlined by Professor James, who made his observations in various Californian institutions, may not be applicable to this country without certain modifications, his ideas seem to call for the closest study on the part of the penologist and administrator. In particular, the suggestion to extend the application of small group techniques to the post-discharge stage will be sure to provoke lively argument.

For many years the notion that low intelligence is a function of delinquency persuaded the student despite the ambiguous character of the evidence. Although the difference between delinquent and control groups was always far from striking, it was commonly held that the capacity to distinguish right from wrong behaviour is tied up with the intellectual power to make the distinction and then act upon it. The more scrupulous study of intelligence testing to-day demonstrates that the I.Q., while largely dependent upon genetic endowment, is influenced by culture and by exercise. It is now equally clear that cultural and ecological factors play their part in the way intelligence and its limitations are operative. Statistical studies, as Miss Mary Woodward shows in her paper in this issue, demonstrate how difficult it is to analyse cultural influences in this connection and how scrupulous our research plans must be in matching groups and evaluating factors in this field. Intelligence only indirectly affects capacity to face stress. Furthermore, our difficulties arise from lumping delinquents who are different in endowment together with those who are deficient in their exposure to culture and its stresses. While it is true that larceny forms the largest group of anti-social offences, these too need breaking down into the character forces which prompt this form of abnormal behaviour. Intelligence in one character may operate in quite a different way from intelligence in another. Miss Woodward's careful analysis of the literature and her own case analyses show that low intelligence is not a significant factor and she rightly points out how much remains to be done both in statistical analyses and in individual studies.

It is of more than passing interest that the main concern of the Third International Congress on Criminology, to be held in London from the 12th to 18th September, 1955, is with the subject of ' Recidivism'. This is one of the vital problems of modern penology. If only because of the sheer

weight of numbers, comparatively little can be done for the majority of first offenders, and reformative efforts have to concentrate mainly on the smaller, though still uncomfortably large, number of those who relapse again and again.

It is also satisfactory to note that the programme of the Congress will deal, in logical sequence, with all possible aspects of the problem. Under Section I, for example, the following matters will be considered in detail: how is 'recidivism' defined by the laws of different countries? Does the conception apply only to those who have already passed through the mill of criminal justice, or also those who have not previously been caught? Does it apply only to those who repeat the same type of offence again and again, or also to those who prefer variety? What is the extent of the phenomenon in different countries? And what are the lessons to be learned from the statistical structure of recidivism?

As a further preamble to the consideration of theories and explanations, the second Section will concentrate on the actual evolution and form of a criminal career, whilst in the third full scope will be given to biologists, psychologists, sociologists and others, to discuss their respective theories on causation and eventually, it is hoped, to produce a well-balanced consensus.

The last two sections will no doubt appeal to large numbers of practical penologists, magistrates, social workers, psychiatrists and psychologists. The various predictive techniques worked out within the past thirty years in America and Europe will be compared and criticized by experts, and the vexed question of treatment will be given the fullest possible consideration.

With this comprehensive programme in prospect, the Third Congress will, it is to be hoped, secure the active interest and co-operation of representatives from every department of British criminology.

TREATMENT OF MENTALLY ABNORMAL OFFENDERS IN SWEDEN [1]

By GÖSTA RYLANDER (Stockholm)

In Sweden the treatment of abnormal offenders is of course regulated by law. I must therefore begin by drawing attention to the legal background, although this does not bring in the topics which are of the greatest interest from the medical point of view.

The concepts of Swedish law will be better understood if we compare them with British and American legal definitions of insanity. Up to 1946 our Penal Code used definitions of the same type as the M'Naghten rules, which are still accepted in the Anglo-Saxon countries. These rules are based on the classical theories of criminal law, which were founded upon the fiction that the criminal was a free moral agent who exercised free will in committing the crime.

According to the M'Naghten rules, the following test for criminal irresponsibility is required in cases of alleged insanity. It must be proved that at the time of committing the crime the accused did not know the nature of the act or, if he did, did not know that what he was doing was wrong. This so-called ' right and wrong ' test implies a kind of metaphysical judgment. Psychiatry, which is a branch of medicine, uses biological concepts and cannot make such distinctions. The medical expert may be able to state that a man suffers from a psychosis or some other mentally abnormal state, but to prove that he cannot differentiate between right and wrong is a task which cannot be fulfilled by the methods available to the natural sciences. So it may happen that an offender who had a psychosis at the time of committing the crime must be sentenced to punishment, according to the M'Naghten rules.

Because of the difficulties of using old concepts in modern medicine, biological definitions of insanity were introduced into the Swedish penal code in 1945. According to these new definitions an offender cannot be punished if he has committed the act under the influence of a psychosis or of imbecility or under the influence of other mentally abnormal states of such severe nature that they can be considered equal to a psychosis. Whether he did or did not understand the nature of the act is of no importance whatsoever.

The mentally abnormal states falling under the three above-mentioned headings may be defined as follows.

[1] Guest-lecture, read at the Institute of Psychiatry, Maudsley Hospital, on April 7th, 1954.

By psychosis is meant the endogenous types of psychosis as well as the exogenous ones: *e.g.* psychotic states arising from chronic alcoholism, or drug-addiction, or consequent on brain trauma and encephalitis.

The upper limit of imbecility is drawn somewhere between I.Q. 65–75, taking into consideration also other sides of the personality and the social history.

The third group, which from a legal point of view is considered on a par with psychosis, is rather mixed, representing a compromise between medical and legal view-points, and including rather different types of abnormal states. A common feature of these offenders is that they are socially handicapped by their abnormal traits and are considered more or less unsuitable for penal treatment.

Certain neurotics with severe anxiety and tension may commit crimes which, while appearing to be meaningless and motiveless, serve as a kind of abreaction. From the legal point of view neurotics of that type are considered to be on a par with psychotics. Very marked types of psychopaths are also considered equal to psychotics. Among them may be mentioned hysterical psychopaths, cases of pseudologia phantastica and severe schizoids. The same holds true for offenders showing sequelæ of brain lesions caused by trauma or cerebral infections with deep-going personality changes, without symptoms of psychosis. I have earlier mentioned sequelæ of cerebral trauma and infection as examples of exogenous psychosis. The difference is mostly a matter of degree between the states belonging to the exogenous psychosis and those which are equal to psychosis.

Senile states may lead to indecent behaviour towards children by men who have previously led a normal social life and never before broken any law. These old men cannot actually be said to have a senile dementia, but it is plain that the criminal act is closely related to the processes of senile involution. They are not punished but considered on a par with psychotics.

Now, what happens to these offenders who are considered legally insane? The court states that the accused has committed the crime but that he cannot be sentenced because of his mental abnormality. He is then handed over to the medical authorities for treatment. Most of the offenders who are considered insane are transferred to a general mental hospital but the medical superintendent has no right to discharge them. This is left to special boards consisting of a judge, a socially experienced person and the superintendent of the hospital. The offender has the right to appeal to a higher board of the same medico-legal type in Stockholm. The discharge is conditional and the abnormal offender is kept under the medical supervision of the after-care organization of the hospital for as long as it is considered necessary. The discharged offender may be re-admitted to the hospital on medical or

social grounds. Very dangerous insane offenders are placed in one of the maximum security pavilions attached to some of the mental hospitals. This was the case with a double murderer whom I examined just before I left Sweden. He was a non-commissioned officer who killed his grandparents in a most atrocious way and then set fire to their house. The crimes were the first signs of a schizophrenia, which a few months later manifested itself by clinical symptoms.

On the other hand, an insane offender who is fairly passive and harmless and not in need of hospital treatment but only of supervision may be placed directly under the after-care organization. This would apply to certain amenable mental defectives and senile cases. Certain alcoholics who are considered insane and whose alcoholic addiction is the main cause of criminality are handed over to the temperance boards and then transferred to institutions for alcohol addicts.

Criminal psychopaths who are not considered as legally insane—and this applies to the vast majority of them—are sentenced to different types of punishment, in the same way as normal delinquents. What these men and women need is to become adapted to a regular life and steady work. It is also of great importance that their immature personality and more or less atrophied social feelings be developed. Nothing of this can be done during a short time in prison. Therefore, when possible, the criminal psychopaths are placed on probation. The court generally lays down some special conditions concerning, for instance, training and employment, place of residence, abstinence from alcohol, psychiatric treatment.

If they relapse they are more likely to be sentenced to a term in prison long enough for training. If they do not respond to ordinary limited punishment but become recidivists, preventive detention is next to be considered. For preventive detention the following conditions must be fulfilled; the offender must be of an abnormal state of mind; there must also be sound reasons to assume that he is dangerous to the safety or property of others and that he does not respond to ordinary punishment. Before preventive detention is applied a forensic psychiatric examination must be made. Having received the report from the medical expert the court must submit all the documents to a special central board, the Internment Board, before the sentence is passed. This board—consisting of two lawyers, the chairman of the Prisons Board, a member of the Riksdag and a specialist in forensic psychiatry—will advise the court whether or not the offender should be sentenced to preventive detention. The court is free to follow or to reject the advice of the board. In most cases, however, the opinion of the board is accepted.

The Swedish court, like the English one, issues an order for a minimum

period. But the maximum period is not stated. The indeterminate sentence, however necessary for the protection of society, is a heavy burden on the individuals concerned. In compensation, the preventive detainees are placed in special institutions for the treatment of mentally abnormal recidivists, where there is greater comfort, better lodgings and workshops, better education, etc., than in ordinary prisons. Also the detainees have more freedom within the walls.

When the habitual offender has served his minimum time, the Internment Board reviews the case, visiting the establishment where he is interned, seeing him and discussing his state with the governor and the social worker. Should the detainee still be considered dangerous, he may be kept over his minimum time—theoretically for the rest of his life, which, however, never happens in practice. Earlier the preventive detainees were often kept for considerable periods over their minimum terms. Nowadays they are generally released conditionally when the minimum time has expired, provided they have behaved well and are not considered to be extremely dangerous.

If the discharged abnormal recidivist does not behave well, he is cautioned by the Internment Board. If this has no effect, he is taken back to the security institution for half a year. Should he commit fresh crimes, he will be brought before the court, which may prolong his minimum time. But he may instead get a limited sentence in a general prison. Having served this term, he continues to live under the supervision of the Internment Board.

Thus a great deal of elasticity characterizes the treatment of abnormal recidivists in Sweden.

The treatment of sexual offenders is a great problem in all countries.

In Sweden homosexual acts between adults are no longer a crime. If a homosexual approaches children or adolescents, however, he is severely punished. The same holds true if he abuses his authority as a teacher, a doctor, an employer or an officer by establishing homosexual relationships. A general rule that should be stressed is that sexual abnormality in itself is not considered to be a reason for exemption from punishment. On the other hand, if the sexual abnormality is combined with an abnormal state such as schizophrenia, imbecility, or severe anxiety neurosis, the offender is not punished but handed over to the medical authorities.

With this exception the penological career of sex offenders resembles on the whole that of most criminal psychopaths. Whenever possible—*i.e.* in the case of first offenders—they are placed on probation under special conditions. If they relapse, they are sentenced to imprisonment. Finally,

should they become persistent offenders, preventive detention is applied.

Voluntary castration of persistent and dangerous sex offenders is permissible according to the Act of Castration of 1946. I know that I have now entered upon a subject which in Great Britain arouses very strong feelings. Let me only stress that it seems to me more humane to give an habitual sexual criminal the chance to live in society as a free citizen without sexual drive than to force him to spend years in prison, tortured by his abnormal desires. It goes without saying that castration as a radical treatment is used only in a limited number of cases. Many sexual offenders, especially homosexuals, do not want to be deprived of their drive. But if a dangerous sexual offender consents to castration, the operation is defensible both from an ethical, a medical and a criminological point of view. The mental and physical after-effects of castration in adult men are, as is well known, surprisingly slight.

With regard to juvenile delinquency, I should like to point out that children below the age of 15 cannot be charged, whether they are abnormal or not. Offenders below this age are dealt with by the Child Welfare Committees, which may supervise the family, or place the child in a different environment, or hand him over to an approved school. The approved schools are under the direction of the Ministry for Social Affairs. No young offender can therefore be sentenced by the court to such an institution.

We try to avoid bringing adolescents between 15 and 18 years of age before the court. When the police investigation is completed the public prosecutor exercises his discretion, often refraining from making a charge. The young offender is handed over to the Child Welfare Committee. For a serious crime, however, he is brought before the court, which may issue an order of probation. He is then voluntarily transferred to the Child Welfare Committee. By a recent Act, the courts are forbidden to sentence young offenders under 18 years of age to prison, except in very serious cases.

Between 18 and 21 years of age young offenders are mostly sentenced to youth prisons, which correspond to the Borstals. All the approved schools and all the youth prisons have consultant psychiatrists. A special approved school with a psychiatrist as chief receives the abnormal young delinquents.

As you will have seen, the tendency of the Swedish law is to multiply and increasingly differentiate the methods of treating criminals. Among these methods imprisonment is only one. The principle which increasingly predominates is to consider the criminal rather than the crime. Which treatment is to be chosen in each individual case is a matter for the court's decision. As the lines of treatment were multiplied during the penal reform work, there appeared to be a growing need of a thorough analysis of the personality of the offender as well as of the psychological and social back-

ground of the crime. Increasingly the courts have therefore sent offenders for psychiatric examination prior to the sentence. To demand a psychiatric examination has long been the custom of the Swedish courts. In a royal letter of 1826 it was prescribed that, when a court received a medical report to the effect that a criminal was insane, this report was to be submitted to the Medical Board prior to the trial. The reason was the fear of simulation. Nowadays simulation is not feared any more. The central check-up, however, is still considered necessary. Forensic psychiatry is a difficult field between medicine and law where the individual opinions and differing experiences of the psychiatrists may lead to rather discordant conclusions. As much uniformity as possible is necessary.

Contrary to the custom in most English-speaking countries it has always been the practice in Sweden for the court and not the defendant to call in the psychiatrist. This has been of great importance for the development and reputation of forensic psychiatry in Sweden. We have never had anything like the famous battle of psychiatrists in Chicago or the deplorable fight about the Haig murder case in London some years ago. In Sweden the forensic psychiatrist acts on behalf of the court, so that his position is quite impartial, neutral and independent.

The formulation of the psychiatric reports to the court and their content is the subject of much discussion in Great Britain. At a meeting of criminologists in London recently I listened to severe criticisms both of the reports and of the attitude of the courts towards psychiatrists. In his excellent book, ' Society and the Criminal ', Sir Norwood East stresses that evidence given in a criminal court may obtain widespread publicity and may have propaganda value, which is all the more effective if it is delivered clearly and in simple terms.

In Sweden the medical examinations of offenders prior to the trial are carried out by specialists, paid by the state, working in fourteen different centres of forensic psychiatry, half of which are closed psychiatric wards in certain prisons where offenders remanded in custody are examined. The rest are out-patient departments in mental hospitals to which offenders remanded on bail are sent.

The maximum time for the examination is six weeks. A complete physical, psychiatric and social investigation is made by the psychiatrist and his assistants. Whenever possible the psychiatrist attempts to find the relation between the patient's history and the crime. All the facts collected in this way are summarized in a special part of the report to the court. On these facts the psychiatrist builds up the synthesis of the case, describing the interaction of the factors of importance to the criminal career. The report ends with a description of the offender's mental state at the time of commit-

ting the crime and with advice as to the treatment. In presenting the salient features of the case the expert should use ordinary language avoiding too technical terms, so that the judge and especially the jury will have no difficulty in understanding what he means.

This comprehensive way of presenting not only the diagnosis and the conclusions, but also the observations on which they are based, gives the court a chance to examine the opinions and recommendations of the expert by comparing them with the objective data. I am sure that this is one of the reasons for the excellent co-operation between courts and psychiatrists in Sweden.

The facilities for psychiatric treatment of prisoners are not sufficient. Sweden has a prison population of about 3,000. One third of these are kept in open camps. The Central Prison of Stockholm, our largest institution, with 500 prisoners, houses the Clinic of Forensic Psychiatry with 70 beds, of which a dozen are for women. Near the main security prison there is a psychiatric prison hospital with 85 beds. Four prisons in different parts of Sweden have psychiatric wards, each with 25 beds. The treatment applied is of the ordinary clinical type: psychotherapy, occupational therapy, electro shock, insulin treatment, narcoanalysis. Frontal lobe surgery has been attempted on some prisoners with severe anxiety, if their anxiety had existed before the sentence and was considered to be a main criminogenetic factor.

I will finish my review by giving some figures concerning criminality in Sweden.

The size of the present prison population has already been mentioned. In 1952—the last year for which we have available statistics—6,447 men and 101 women were sentenced to imprisonment (penal servitude 2,991, simple imprisonment 3,158, youth prison 139, detention 260). Prosecution was suspended for about 3,400 offenders under 18 years of age and for about 5,300 adults. The majority of these suspensions were in cases of minor offences, such as drunkenness, disorderly conduct, offences against traffic regulations, etc. About 2,300 cases of suspension concerned more serious offences (larceny, indecent behaviour, damage to property, minor acts of assault, etc.).

The total number of persons convicted for offences against the Penal Code in 1952 was 22,167, of whom 1,450 were women (cases of drunkenness and disorderly conduct not included). Probation was applied in 5,212 cases.

As Sweden has a population of 7 millions, it must be stated that crime is not a major problem compared with the conditions in some other countries.

THE APPLICATION OF THE SMALL GROUP CONCEPT TO THE STUDY OF THE PRISON COMMUNITY [1]

By JOHN JAMES (PORTLAND, OREGON; previously CALIFORNIA)

If the evolution of penological theory and practice were to be described in one sentence, it could be said that the development has followed a course from stern retribution and penance to the rehabilitation of the offender. With similar brevity, one could say that criminological theory has developed along a line of imputing the causes of crime to biological inadequacies and innate predispositions, to personality deficiency, and to poverty *per se*, and currently is seeking the determinants of criminal behaviour in the interrelations between the individual and culture, and in the dynamics of group behaviour. As a consequence, theories of crime and correction to-day are eclectic, and perhaps necessarily so, since all of the approaches made to date have added something to the understanding and treatment of offenders. According to McGee, about 1,500,000 felony crimes are committed each year in the United States, and of these only about 1 in 19 come to prison. He says further: [2] 'Of those convicted, substantial numbers are fined, given short sentences in local jails, or are placed on probation. Such is the screening process, and such is the high degree of selectivity that the prisons receive only the most difficult, most serious, and most persistent offenders. This sifting process is becoming more and more selective each year. Consequently, we are faced at this particular time in the prisons of the United States with the most difficult concentration of prisoners in history, with inadequate physical plants, with public apathy and misunderstanding, with inadequate budgets, with confused philosophy, with much untrained personnel and inexperienced leadership, with idleness and haphazard programmes.'

[1] The author is deeply indebted to the California Department of Corrections for help, in many forms, in filling out his background for the paper. At San Quentin, Chino, The Medical Facility, Oak Glen Camp, Corona (for women), at the two Reception-Guidance centres, from the Division of Adult Paroles, the Bureau of Criminal Statistics (Department of Justice), assistance of various kinds was received. To Dr. Norman S. Hayner, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, on leave to serve as Member, Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, and to Mr. A. LaMont Smith, Executive Officer, Board of Corrections, State of California, the author is grateful for a critical reading of the paper.

[2] Richard A. McGee, 'Prisons at the Crossroads', in *Proceedings of the Eighty-Third Annual Congress of the American Prison Association*, Toronto, Ontario, 11th to 16th October, 1953 (135 East 15th Street, New York City), p. 14. Mr. McGee is Director, Department of Corrections, State of California.

Parallel to the practice of screening which keeps offenders out of prison is that of finding ways and means by which inmates can safely be paroled and returned to society at the earliest date following incarceration. It is argued that such practice, to the degree successful, results in two types of saving to society: reduction in the costs of operating a correctional system, and a decline in recidivism. There would be the positive gain, too, through the legitimate employment of the rehabilitated person.

An approach which is proving useful in the criminological and penological fields is the study of behaviour in the small group. While it cannot be said that the small group approach is a new-born conceptual innovation, it is nevertheless true that the possible applications of the concept to criminal behaviour have not been fully and systematically explored, nor even understood in some quarters. The purpose of this paper is to outline some uses of the small group concept in the study of criminal behaviour and also to examine some of the implications of its application.

It is now a well-established generalization of social science that man's behaviour originates and is developed in a socio-cultural milieu. The cultural specifics of behaviour, the boundaries of permissiveness, the types of goals deemed worthy of attainment are socially derived and influenced. There is a rapidly growing realization that many of the social influences and interactions working to shape human personality operate in the system of relationships which we designate as the small group. Simply stated, the small group is a system of face-to-face relations tying individuals together who are interacting to some purpose. In size, the small group is composed of from two to about ten or twelve members, depending on the organization and function of the group. Empirical findings indicate that spontaneously forming and unforming groups range from two to five in size, while formally organized groups can go as high as ten or twelve. In the latter size of group a leader is usually necessary to keep the interactions orderly and stable.[3] In the small group arena of direct influence many powerful variables controlling human behaviour operate—belongingness, acceptance, rejection, and standards governing conduct. Such important areas of behaviour as learning, motivation and perception, previously thought to be essentially indivi-

[3] For an introduction to contemporary small group theory the reader may refer to: Robert F. Bales, ' Interaction Process Analysis ' (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950); Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, ed., ' Group Dynamics ' (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1953) ; George C. Homans, ' The Human Group ' (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950); and James Grier Miller, ed., ' Experiments in Social Process ' (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950). For the most complete bibliography in the field, see Fred L. Strodtbeck and A. Paul Hare, ' Bibliography of Small Group Research, from 1900 through 1953 ', *Sociometry*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1954, in which more than 1,400 bibliographical items are listed.

dual in nature, appear to a great extent to be small group phenomena. Again, such social processes as competition, co-operation and assimilation may be investigated in a small group frame of reference. Since the small group is a social system, variables of status and rôle and the attendant peer principle are included in the system. In a basic sense the small group is a microcosm of relations and affords a strategic approach to the study of the social behaviour of man—of how humans relate one to another, either in socially approved or disapproved ways. Finally, it is becoming evident to students of small group phenomena that the small group *form* is very versatile in its capacity for expressing and encompassing the inter-human relationships growing out of the pursuit of those purposes and functions which require that men relate to each other in face-to-face contacts. This versatility is manifested empirically in a wide range of small group types.

The fact of the existence of groups among offenders, both in prison and out, is well-known to all concerned. Thrasher, *The Gang*, and Clemmer, *The Prison Community*, are outstanding pioneer efforts in the study of criminal behaviour in the group frame of reference.[4] What is proposed in this article is further, intensive and systematic investigation carried out with greater precision and employing more subtle and refined concepts and methods. We need to know who interacts with whom, how, to what purpose, where, when, and under what conditions in all settings—pre-prison, prison, and post-prison. So great a part of human behaviour is in group form that the systematic application of the small group concept in all areas of criminal life (including the zones of personality malformation and social disorganization which overlap the technically criminal) could not help but rapidly increase our knowledge of the determinants of crime, and also improve the science of prison administration and treatment of offenders.

Prison administrators could make immediate use of small group knowledge by applying it to the organization of prison life. The training of custodial, clinical, and treatment officers, the classification of inmates (by personality characteristics, rather than by crime), the organization of inmate activities, and the architectural-physical layout of the prison could all be affected by a systematic utilization of the small group principle.[5] The growing emphasis placed by modern correctional institutions on the desira-

[4] See also Norman S. Hayner and Ellis Ash, 'The Prison Community as a Social Group', *American Sociological Review*, **4** (June, 1939), 362–69. For a recent discussion see Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn, 'Resocialization Within Walls', *The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, **293** (May, 1954), 88–98.

[5] Sweden, in fact, expects by the Fall of 1954 to have completed an institution at Roxtuna 'organized on a "small group" principle' for the resocialization of 'the worst of the 18- to 20-year-old offenders'. Torsten Eriksson, 'Postwar Prison Reform in Sweden', *The Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, **293** (May, 1954), 152–62.

bility of rehabilitating prisoners as soon as possible means, in the present context, learning what we can about the group processes involved in changing inmate behaviour. If the whole prison were treatment-oriented, this would mean that work, recreational, study and other groups would be composed of inmates who could interact optimally together in the direction of altering behaviour along desired lines. In general, groups would be brought together, whether informally or formally, to achieve certain well-defined goals. What currently passes by the name of group therapy is in reality a complex mechanism for directing behaviour which is capable of effecting many different kinds of changes in personality structure.[6] Fuller knowledge of group process would enable the therapist to combine and set into motion the variables governing behaviour change in a wider variety of personality disturbances and anti-social tendencies.

What kinds of small group data should be sought regarding offenders? If the problem is approached developmentally, then a case can be made for collecting data in terms of three stages of the offender's life: pre-prison, prison, and post-prison. Let us consider these in the sequence given. Ideally, it would be valuable to get full information on the inmate's family, play-group, school, recreational, military (if any), work experience, and his previous experience in juvenile institutions and jails. This would include data regarding the prisoner's crime partners and/or individuals who incited and inspired him to crime. It has been estimated that somewhere in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent. of all crimes are committed by crime-partner arrangements.[7] Obviously, one would have to be satisfied with something less than the ideal in completeness of information regarding the offender's pre-prison group experience. Once the emphasis were placed on this *type of information*, however, a good deal more would be learned about the

[6] The California Medical Facility, the institution in the California correctional system which treats the difficult behaviour cases, uses group therapy as its principal therapeutic technique. In January 1954 the Facility employed a staff of 11 full-time and two spare-time therapists (included among which were psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and a physician-surgeon) for the direction of 90 voluntarily organized groups undergoing therapy. One-half of the groups met twice per week, the other half once per week. The groups ranged from 8–12 in size, with a mode of eight. One year and longer is considered necessary for this type of therapy to produce a measurable improvement in the behaviour of inmates. While the Facility has been in operation only since 1950, a preliminary evaluation indicates that the technique is a powerful agency for inducing change in the behaviour of inmates.

In recognition of the need of some offenders to continue group therapy after release from prison, the California Division of Adult Paroles in August 1953 established an Out-Patient Clinic in Los Angeles to help such individuals. The clinic currently accommodates about 300 men per week.

[7] A crude estimate which came out of discussions with California correctional authorities. Added support for the estimate may be found in A. M. Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim, and E. C. Rhodes, 'Young Offenders' (Cambridge University Press, 1942), pp. 25, 36, 110–12.

offender's experiences, his need for rehabilitation, as well as about the causes of crime. At present, the emphasis seems to be on getting the individual's life history, his psychological and mental characteristics, vocational aptitudes, and physical handicaps. While all of these kinds of data have value for the correctional process, they represent an incomplete set of data because they lack what appears to be the essential component which details the individual's experiences in various kinds of groups. It is from a study of such experiences that we can learn what rôles an individual has played; what statuses were accorded him; his strengths and weaknesses in interpersonal relations; the norms that guide his behaviour; his immediate and distant goals. We can discover his prejudices, fears, biases, distortions. Light will be thrown on his motivations, as well as on the etiology of certain concepts which to-day distort his perceptions, in so far as acceptable behaviour is concerned. We can detect rejection, over-dependency, hostility, narcissism, deprivation, insecurity, sadism, and other forms of negative or a-social behaviour by probing into the system of relations that nurtured the personality. The individual is at once a store-house of response patterns (habit system) which developed out of previous experience, an interpreter-transformer of new stimuli, and a creative originator-initiator of behaviour. All of his behaviour, overt and covert, needs to be interpreted and understood. But 'understanding' presupposes a suitable conceptual scheme in terms of which interpretations can take place. The researcher, the custodial officer, and the therapist, all and one, depend on such a conceptual framework for their interpretations and guidance of inmates. Since human behaviour is social behaviour, we must look to the small group for many of the relationships which contributed to the formation of the personality.

Let us turn now to the prison scene. Here the investigator has better opportunity for controlling his inquiry since the social and physical space in which he works is limited. In the prison there are formal groups constituted by the authorities and by the inmates themselves, as well as informal groups which come into being spontaneously. The memberships of groups, formal and informal, may be composed of inmates exclusively, of correctional personnel, or of both inmates and correctional people. We would want to know the types (by function), frequencies, and memberships of small groups in the prison community. There are groups functioning in the work, recreational, study, government and friendship areas. Certain kinds of illicit behaviour, such as sex and gambling, fall in the small group frame of reference. Other types of activity, such as walking together, visiting, talking, are seemingly innocent, but knowledge of them would help to reveal the group structure of the community as well as the kinds of experience specific individuals are receiving. Finally, there are the relationships between institu-

tional personnel and inmates, both *sub rosa* and proper, with the stool-pigeon-officer relationship illustrating the former. It would be necessary, too, to identify the isolates, both among the inmates and officers. Once the types, frequencies, and memberships of groups are identified it is possible to study the characteristics of the individuals making up the various kinds of groups in terms of the members' age, social background, early experience in family and community, social class, education, vocation, marital status, type of crime, ethnic origin, history of crime, recidivism or first offence, and crime-partners. We would want to have, too, a standardized personality inventory which described the individual's emotional maturity and indicated the kinds of relationships he had had with others. In the case of the isolate we would try to determine the reasons for his exclusion from group membership and participation. Finally, it would be necessary to study the attitudes of the relatives and friends who visit the inmate during his incarceration, and to obtain the evaluation of the representatives of outside agencies that have had contacts with the inmate.

Another aspect of the investigation would be concerned with the structure of groups. This would involve a study of the size of the group, the rôles played by the members (leader, middle-follower, low-follower), and the statuses of the members. It would be necessary, of course, to relate the characteristics of members (outlined in previous paragraph) to their rôles and statuses.

Finally, an effort should be made to disclose the complex inter-group structure of the prison community. Such a structure would have both horizontal and vertical dimensions. In the former the communication network would link groups of similar status, while in the latter communication would tie groups together of different statuses through the wielding of power and influence.[8] A serious factor complicating and limiting the study of the inter-group structure of the prison community is the ever-changing inmate membership of the community with the consequent shifting of relationships between individuals and groups. To the researcher this means doing the best he can in terms of the resources at his command.

In single groups, inter-group complexes, and isolates we seek to discover the characteristics that make for attraction and cohesion, and those that are associated with repulsion and antagonism among inmates and correctional personnel. For it is from such knowledge that ideas will develop about both the kinds of activity and the types of individual who can interact optimally to the end of a speedy rehabilitation.

Once the offender is released from prison, either on parole or on comple-

[8] Some hint of how groups establish ties with one another is found in William F. Whyte, ' Street Corner Society ' (University of Chicago Press, 1943).

tion of his sentence, it is obviously desirable from society's standpoint and assumed to be the same as far as the offender's welfare is concerned that he should not violate parole or commit a new offence.[9] It is, furthermore, agreed among progressive correctional people that early parole, if it can be justified by a low violation rate, has the dual advantage of being more economical to society and at the same time enhancing the offender's chances of bringing his behaviour into conformity with social norms. Enormous strides have been made, compared with former times, by correctional authorities and society to assist the offender with his integration into normal life. 'Every employable must have a *bona fide* job prior to release and approximately one half obtain employment through their family or previous employers. The balance secure employment through the Division of Adult Paroles, in which case the prospective employer hires an employee "sight unseen".'[10] On leaving the correctional institution the ex-prisoner expects to be greeted with coolness, suspicion, even hostility and rejection, and in many instances he is. On release the ex-law-breaker needs various kinds of assistance to carry him through the transition from criminal and prison ways to those of legitimate society.[11] The preparation for this should, of course, have been laid in prison. After release, among the crucial adjustments confronting the ex-prisoner are those of establishing satisfying and healthful interpersonal relations with his family (if this is possible), with individuals who can serve as friends, and with his employer. If he is under the supervision of a parole officer, he must learn how to trust and get advice and help from the officer, and the officer in turn must have confidence in his charge. Guiding the ex-prisoner's search for a close human bond, whether he is aware of it or not, will be the peer principle. He will seek out persons who can understand, sympathize and reinforce him, whose thought-patterns,

[9] A recent study disclosed that 49 per cent. of male prisoners released on parole by the California prison system during 1946–49 had their parole suspended by 1st January, 1953. See 'California Male Prisoners Released on Parole, 1946–49', pamphlet, Board of Corrections, State of California, Sacramento, 1953. There is little basis at present, however, to determine if this rate is 'high' or 'low'. The published report is the first of its kind in the history of the California system, so that no comparison can be made with another period of the same system. Nor are the data comparable to the reports of correctional systems in other states. The report, in the meantime, is providing a basis for a several year study in California of the problem of parolee suspension.

[10] A. LaMont Smith, letter to the writer, dated 25th May, 1954.

[11] Significantly, as it bears on this point, data from California experience with parolees indicates that 90 per cent. of parole violations committed by first parolees occurred within an 18 month period, with the median time on parole prior to suspension being 6·3 months. Re-parolees violated parole conditions sooner—90 per cent. within a 15 month period, with a median of 4·7 months. ('California Male Prisoners Released on Parole, 1946–49,' pp. 10–11.) These data sharply point up the fact that the parolee's needs for guidance and help are greatest in the first months of freedom. His success or failure depend on an *immediate* establishment of workable relations with legitimate society.

norms and ambitions are similar to his. In such company he will feel comfortable, at home. It is to be expected as normal that individuals on parole might be inclined to associate with former inmates and other parolees, even if this meant violating the conditions of parole.

Clearly, the correctional system has the task of re-training its charges to the way of post-prison normal life during the period of incarceration. It is widely recognized to-day that educational, vocational-training, and recreational facilities need to be made available to the prisoner. On release the ex-prisoner needs, according to current theory, a job, money, close family ties, and friends. The latter two needs, however, seem better understood abstractly than practically by correctional people. Relatively little is being done to teach the offender about himself, about the social character of man, and about the principles and techniques of relating himself to his fellow man. The administrative attitude is prone to be paternalistic, conventional, and formal, even in such superficially democratic freedoms as the inmate council. But the basic insights and reorientations that an individual needs to relate himself effectively to his fellow man are not systematically engendered through a programme of re-training organized for this purpose. This is not to say that nothing is being done. In British prisons, and to some extent in the United States, a system of unofficial (lay) prison visitors has been established whereby voluntary workers come to the institution to give friendly counsel and help to inmates.[12] The results appear to have been salutary. In the United States the Alcoholics Anonymous is perhaps the best example of the recognition that the patient needs help both in and out of prison. Members of this organization attend group meetings in prison and upon release are given letters of introduction to groups in the localities to which they are going. The U.S. Federal prison system has for at least 15 years used a lay parole adviser, who gives his services as a citizen's duty, to assist parolees with their adjustment throughout the whole period of parole. Each person released on parole is required to have an adviser. This approach is successful to the degree that the adviser has knowledge, insight, and sympathy with the parolee's needs. Again, California in 1953 made provisions for the establishment of out-patient clinics for group psychotherapy in recognition of the offender's post-prison needs for guidance.[13] The same State is currently engaged in a several year study of the effects of smaller case

[12] John A. F. Watson, ' The Prison System ', in L. Radzinowicz and J. W. C. Turner, ed., ' Penal Reform in England ' (London: Macmillan & Co., 1946).

[13] For some 16 years therapeutic social clubs have been operating in England as an out-patient service to the mentally ill. Dr. Joshua Bierer, ed., ' Therapeutic Social Clubs ', pamphlet published for the Institute of Social Psychiatry by H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd., 136 Gower Street, London, W.C.1 (*c.* 1948), 73 pp. It would seem feasible that the same principle be utilized for the establishment of clubs to aid the criminal offender in his rehabilitation.

loads of parole officers on the success or failure of parolees. The California correctional system is also 'studying the possibility of utilizing group methods of supervision for selected portions of the caseload in order to permit persons requiring individual attention to receive more of the time of the supervising officer '.[14] Under consideration, further, is a plan for permitting several parolees to live in the same boarding house with lay boarders. The operators of such houses would be subject to supervision and guidance by professional parole representatives. A recent study of 75 parolees had indicated that the needs of suitable employment, comfortable lodging, and congenial associates were the most disturbing problems to the parolee in his initial adjustment upon release. These trends certainly indicate a growing awareness that the re-training of the offender culminates not on the date the prison doors open for him but when he is finally integrated in various kinds of groups—family, religious, work, recreation, friendship—which meet his several needs as a total human being.

A programme of study such as that proposed in this paper involves difficult methodological problems for the investigator. In the first place rather substantial resources would have to be available to him. This obstacle might very well force him to attack the problem piecemeal and gradually build his body of theory from a series of studies. Further, it should be evident on the face that an inquiry of this kind would require very close co-operation from the administration of the correctional institution. Too many correctional authorities are anti-scientific or unfamiliar with the difficulties and the trial and error character of scientific inquiry. To this latter group science means some magical, quick way of getting at the 'true' facts. Finally, scientific investigation is bound to bring out unfavourable evidence, from the point of view of administrative efficiency, and such disclosures may be interpreted as threatening to the authorities because both politicians and editors seem ever ready to use such findings unscrupulously in order to climb into office or increase the circulation of newspapers. Careful arrangements between the investigator and the administrator can reduce these threats to all who might be vulnerable.

An investigation of this kind would require a staff of mature, experienced researchers trained in small group theory, social psychology and related fields, and with a working knowledge of criminology. Inmates are people with problems. Their aims, purposes, inadequacies, and worries compare with those of the non-offender. The long tradition of depicting the criminal as possessed of a different physical structure or of an innately obverse psychological organization seems at variance with the facts as they are coming to be understood. Inmates are responsive to scientists once the purposes and

[14] A. LaMont Smith, in letter cited.

methods of science have been explained to them and they have received unbreakable guarantees that their contributions will be held strictly anonymous.[15] Experienced investigators should encounter little difficulty in establishing and maintaining the confidence of both the inmates and correctional personnel.

A suggestion or two may be made relative to the matters of establishing rapport with respondents and of data collecting.[16] It would be desirable to initiate the study by giving a short talk before an assembly of inmates and another before a gathering of institutional personnel.[17] At this meeting the study would be described in general terms, the scientific approach explained, and the anonymity of the respondent guaranteed. The inmates should not be treated deferentially or as children, but approached on the basis of mutuality and co-operation. Great care should be taken to convince the respondents that the administration of the institution is completely detached from the study in so far as access to data and influence on interpretation of data are concerned.

Various methods of securing data are available to investigators of institutional behaviour. Members of the research team can work on the prison staff—in the education, recreational, classification, clinical, and custodial departments—and conduct their observations from these positions. The researchers would, of course, have to be autonomous of the administration in the positions they occupy on the staff. Observations can be taken through interview, questionnaire, and note-taking on different types of activity throughout the prison.[18] It is strongly recommended that no participant-

[15] Professor A. C. Kinsey is reported as having had no difficulty in getting the co-operation of inmates in San Quentin Prison in a recent study of sex behaviour among prisoners. His high reputation for keeping confidential the sources of information had preceded him and was well known throughout the inmate population.

[16] Methodological procedures pertinent to small group investigation are described in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, ' Research Methods in Social Relations ', Part Two: Selected Techniques (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951).

[17] This would perhaps be preferable to the procedure of first gaining the confidence of the inmate council or a group of informal inmate leaders. Schrag found that the use of such leaders to ' sell ' the study to the rest of the population tended to bias answers to questions in the direction of what the inmate thought might please or gain the respect of the leaders. Clarence C. Schrag, ' Crimeville: A Sociometric Study of a Prison Community ', University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, Ph.D. Thesis, 1950, pp. 61-66.

[18] The taking of notes by hand is a delicate matter. To do so during an interview tends to disturb the spontaneity of discussion and distract the respondent. Taking notes in the yard is a poor technique because it interrupts the inmates' normal way of behaving, and makes them suspicious that they are being spied on.

Dr. David Eitzen, University of Southern California, described to the writer a successful experience he had in the tape recording of verbal material in interviewing 47 inmates, and also in recording the verbal output of group therapy sessions which went on for a year. To capture the group therapy material he mounted a microphone on a bicycle wheel which in turn was attached at right angles to a stand so that the wheel stood at

observers be used among the inmates. Inevitably, such observers would be 'found out' and after that not only would they be ineffective but might be subject to physical danger. Tensions and resistance to the research would probably develop among the inmates and possibly prison-wide antipathy of dangerous proportions might arise. The most workable course to follow during the investigation is to keep everything in the open and get the inmates' confidence. There would be no need to explain in detail the theory and the technique of the project to the prisoners, but it seems quite advisable to inform them with regard to the kinds of information being sought and the general purpose of the study. Inmates, perhaps paradoxically, demand strict honesty and fidelity from the representatives of the outside world. Theirs is a life of constant fear, suspicion, and under-cover moves. They are as alert to danger and threat as a mother bird during nesting time. To allay this uneasiness the researcher must be deliberate in every move, must keep every promise he makes, must answer truthfully and non-evasively every question he is asked. If he does these things, the time will not be long before his study will be accepted by the inmates and their co-operation received. He will have in the course of time the types of information the inmates are reluctant to give, or would ordinarily lie about. He can, also, verify by talking with the relatives or friends who visit the inmate, consult with the institutional staff, or get the assistance of the field parole representatives. He has, further, the prison records at his disposal for checking an inmate's veracity on certain points; on others he can bring his experience and theory to bear, together with data from other inmates. In general, the inmate will talk freely about his personal life or his crime, but will be reluctant to give information that might bring down on him the law, the administration, or the vengeance of colleagues both inside and outside the prison. Nevertheless, if he feels that he can trust the investigator not to divulge information to those who could harm him, he is likely to some extent to open up in sensitive areas as well.

Investigations of prison life have hitherto almost completely neglected one of the most powerful techniques of inquiry available to the scientist, namely the experimental method. Many types of prisoner behaviour seem amenable to experimental inquiry, as, for example, the study of the composition and dynamics of therapy, work, study, living, and recreational groups. Experimental situations can be set up to test the effectiveness of certain

an efficient height for catching the verbal output of individuals sitting in a circle. The tape recorder itself was placed beyond the eyes of the participants. Each individual as he wanted to speak, simply rotated the microphone to a position before him and made his comments. According to Dr. Eitzen, the inmates soon forgot about the recorder, but used the microphone without self-consciousness and participated in the group activities in a seemingly normal way.

aspects of the institutional programme, of training personnel, and of parole behaviour. Powerful statistical techniques exist to help the researcher in designing his study and subsequently in analysing the findings. It would seem that both criminological and penological theories would be advanced at a faster pace if the method of experimentation were creatively and boldly utilized.

The final suggestion we might make in the planning of the study is that of pre-testing the research design in one or two prisons other than the one in which the study is to take place. Pre-testing helps to correct faults in design and technique, trains the research team, and in the end provides fairly clear indications of what is feasible with given resources.

We have tried in this brief paper to indicate some of the lines of application of the small group concept to the prison community, and to suggest by implication that new uses of the concept in research and practice would become evident with experience. Above all we have tried to make our reader group conscious, to orient him to the small group nature of much of social life, including that found in the correctional institution. The human personality is in large part a product of small group interaction. It follows, if we take the reciprocal course, that the offender's rehabilitation should likewise take place in the group setting. The scientifically enlightened correctional programme equipped with empirically-derived small group theory will be better able to set into motion the variables that can correct, reintegrate, and redirect the offender. In the group the offender can be taught to re-learn, re-define, to gain insight into his problems and his needs, and to be imbued with new motivations that will push him on to socially approved goals.

I do not want to see ' softer ' juvenile courts, or ' softer ' treatment, but I do want to see the courts starting off on the correct foot. For children under a certain age—fourteen perhaps, a bit more or a bit less—there should, I suggest, be no criminal jurisdiction, but a jurisdiction of guardianship. In that way we could get rid of these criminal records once and for all. The question may be raised: ' Would not a record of guardianship proceedings be just as bad? ' I do not think so; but if it cause some stigma, let us give a child who behaves well over a given period the chance to wipe out the record of *any* earlier proceedings.

MR. JOHN WATSON in a broadcast on ' The Erring Child as a Criminal ', *The Listener*, 17th March, 1955, pp. 476–7.

THE RÔLE OF LOW INTELLIGENCE IN DELINQUENCY

By MARY WOODWARD (LONDON) [1]

I. INTRODUCTION

Opinion on the relation of low intelligence to delinquency has shifted considerably during the last forty years, and remains unsettled. Goring's (31) study of adult criminals led him to stress the causal importance of low intelligence ; and at the same time Goddard (30), in America, concluded from the low scores of delinquents and criminals on the early tests that low intelligence was the most important single factor in delinquency and crime.

Closer scrutiny, however, and better observation of the incidence of low I.Q.'s among delinquents led to a gradual prevalence of the view that low intelligence was merely one factor among many others. This opinion in turn became open to doubt when attention was drawn to the complicating effect of cultural factors related to both delinquency and low test scores and, since these factors are not easily to be subjected to control, the question has remained unsettled. On the whole, American opinion as expressed for example by Reckless (55), Tappan (64), and Elliott (18)—although admitting a slight relation, attaches less importance to low intelligence in delinquency than opinion in Europe generally does. At the Second International Congress on Criminology in 1950, Rouke (57) went so far as to say that the distributions of delinquents and non-delinquents were completely super-imposed, a view with which Nony for one (53) disagreed. At the same Congress a review of the subject was made by Shulman (59, 60) who, after presenting the conflicting results of various enquiries, left the question open, while pointing out that the more strict the control of cultural factors, the smaller is the difference to be found between delinquents and controls.

An examination of the controlled studies reveals that none is conclusive either way, either establishing or refuting an association between low intelligence and delinquency. What is certain, however, is that if there is a relation it is not marked. This conclusion raises the question of the precise rôle which low intelligence plays in delinquency ; if dull children are, at most, only slightly more numerous among delinquents than among comparable non-delinquents, it cannot be assumed that certain behaviour leading to delinquency is a necessary concomitant of low intelligence : there is a need

[1] I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Denis Caroll, Honorary Director of Research, I.S.T.D., for his valuable advice and guidance, to the staff of the Portman Clinic for their co-operation in providing facilities for the study and permitting their case-material to be used, and to Dr. Hermann Mannheim and Mr. R. G. Andry for their helpful comments.

to define more closely in what way intelligence might operate in delinquency and to determine whether there is any factual support for these speculations.

Accordingly a survey of the literature and a qualitative study of individual cases was undertaken, under the direction of Dr. Denis Carroll, with a view to examining these questions. Though no absolute conclusive results were established, evidence gained from this enquiry supports the hypothesis that the apparent negative relation between intelligence and delinquency is attributable to the association with delinquency of that constellation of cultural factors which adversely affect the test score.

II. Methodological Problems

The test scores of children are correlated with the occupational class of their parents, the average difference between the children of professional workers and those of unskilled manual workers being about 20 I.Q. points; a high proportion of delinquents are found to belong to the lower occupational classes. It has long been known that cultural under-stimulation adversely affects the test score, although it is still controversial whether all of the occupational class difference is to be accounted for in this manner. The early studies of the question, which have been summarized by H. E. Jones (36) and Neff (51) from different viewpoints, did however establish that such factors as residence in under-privileged urban areas or in isolated rural districts, ill-educated parents and a low cultural level in the home, tend to depress the test score. Blackburn (6) and Vernon (66, 67) have discussed the problem in the light of the later findings of the effect of familiarity with the concepts and materials used in the tests, the quality and amount of education and the degree of intellectual exercise required by different occupations. A recent survey by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (58) revealed (when the occupational class and the size of each family had been taken into consideration) a decrease in average score corresponding to the degree of over-crowding present, a factor which is likewise associated with delinquency. Furthermore, a study by Nisbet (52) has suggested that the negative correlation between intelligence and the size of the family partly results from the effect on the test score of retarded verbal development, which is the outcome of limited parent-child contact where the family is numerous.

Thus, in order to examine the relation between intelligence and delinquency, these common cultural factors must be controlled. To do this the application of non-verbal tests is not sufficient: they are still subject to cultural influences, although not so much so as verbal tests. Attempts to devise tests which are entirely ' culture-free ' have been unsuccessful (13, 14); that any test performance can be quite unaffected by cultural experiences is

improbable. Hence the only adequate method of control is the comparison of matched groups, which are similarly constituted in respect of the common factors.

The problem of obtaining a representative sample of delinquents is too well known to require special emphasis. In this connection, however, Shulman (59, 60), in the paper already mentioned, quoted figures which suggest lower intelligence on average in institution than in Court samples. No definite conclusion on this point is possible, since there are few comparisons of different kinds of sample with the same test, with the results presented in a comparable manner.

The most obvious selective factor, of course, is that of being caught. Since the intelligence of undetected offenders cannot be known, speculations about it are of little value. The equality of delinquents and non-delinquents in intelligence has been argued from the assumption of the superior intelligence of undetected to that of known delinquents, their superior ability supposedly enabling them to escape detection. What evidence there is suggests that dull children do not get caught more easily than others. Eleanor Glueck (29) made a comparison of those delinquents with I.Q.'s of 80 and under in a sample with those delinquents with I.Q.'s above 80. The incidence of previous arrests and age when first arrested were the same in both these groups, and there was no difference between them in the length of time between the earliest onset of delinquency and the first arrest or between the beginning of anti-social trends and appearance at Court.

III. The Intelligence of Delinquents on Tests

(A) *Results in America.* Over a period of forty years, the extent to which the test results have underestimated the intelligence of delinquents in America has gradually diminished. Beginning in the defective range, the test results of delinquent groups have steadily approached the average, and this change is paralleled by improvements in tests and methods of sampling.

An analysis by Sutherland (63) of all the accessible American reports of the intelligence testing of delinquents and criminals in the period 1910 to 1928 revealed a gradual decrease in the amount of reported 'feeble-mindedness',[2] as illustrated in the following Table :

Years	*No. of Studies*	*% Feeble-minded in Median Survey*	*% Feeble-minded Range*
1910–14 .	50	51	4–96
1915–19 .	142	28	1–82
1920–24 .	104	21	1–69
1925–28 .	46	20	2–58

[2] The American term corresponding to mental deficiency in this country.

The same trend was found for each type of institution ; for juveniles the percentage in the median study dropped from 45 per cent. to 17 per cent.

Tests improved during this period, and Zeleny (70), who made a more detailed analysis of 163 of the same papers, found that the wide variation in the results of different investigators was the outcome of the use of different criteria of defect, ranging, when the test result was used as a basis, between the mental ages of 8 and 13 years for adults and between the I.Q.'s of 50 and 80 for juveniles. When Zeleny re-interpreted the data from these studies, applying the same criteria and general population norms to all, he estimated that the ratio of mental deficiency in delinquency, as shown in these enquiries with the older tests, to that in the general population, was only 1·26 : 1.

Owen's (54) analysis of twenty-one studies of delinquents in institutions revealed for a later date the trend discovered by Sutherland, the average I.Q.'s of the 1918-21 and 1933-35 periods differing significantly by 5·47 points.

After the period studied by Sutherland and Zeleny, low test results are found where method is defective, and higher results followed improvements in tests and method. Caldwell (9) and Frank (23), who found a predominance of low I.Q.'s, did not name the test they used, thus providing no information on reliability, validity and test norms. Snyder (61), who obtained an average I.Q. of 71 with the 1916 Stanford-Binet, 'felt' her sample was representative of the institution group, but gave no more concrete evidence for her conclusion. McClure (47) did not state by what factors a court sample of 601 was selected from the 1,000 who appeared before the court in the $2\frac{1}{2}$ years under consideration ; they were probably cases for whom a psychological report was requested by the court. Complete court samples tested by Merrill (48) and by Rogers and Austin (56) obtained higher average I.Q.'s (86·7 and 82·2 respectively) than that of 79·34 by McClure's sample on the same test (Stanford-Binet).

An advance made by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (25) in their comprehensive study of 1,000 juvenile delinquents was the use, for comparative purposes, of the results on the same test of a large group of school-children in the same State, instead of the test norms.

By 1937 the Terman-Merrill (Revised Stanford-Binet) scale, with its extended upper limit and other improvements, was available. Merrill (48) found that a delinquent sample, tested with this scale, averaged 6·9 points higher than a comparable delinquent group with the 1916 scale. Mann and Mann (45) used the 1937 scale, but their Los Angeles sample (average I.Q. 84·45) probably contained a fair proportion of Mexicans, who would be linguistically handicapped on the tests and thus lower the average of the group, and Kvaraceus' (38) group was a selection of the cases referred to

the Passaic Children's Bureau (average I.Q. 88·74). With the combination of the Terman-Merrill scale and of satisfactory sampling, ensured by the testing of 500 consecutive court cases, Merrill (48) obtained the relatively high average I.Q. of 92·5. An average I.Q. of 92·28 on the Wechsler scale was obtained by the Gluecks (28) in 1950 with an institution sample.

The trends in the average I.Q. and the percentage with I.Q.'s under 70, in the period 1930 to 1950, are illustrated in the following Table. This list includes only those papers which have appeared in the accessible journals, but those with an international circulation probably have a higher standard than local publications, so that these studies probably represent the most adequate work of the period.

Date	*N.*	*Test Used*	*Mean I.Q.*	*% I.Q. < 70*	*Source of Sample*	*Investigation*	*Ref.*
1931	200	1916 Stanford Binet	71	34	Institution	Snyder	(61)
1931	401	Not stated		5·9*	Institution	Frank	(23)
1931	300	1916 Stanford Binet	82 (Mdn)	18·65	Institution	Beane	(5)
1933	602	1916 Stanford Binet	79·34		Court	McClure	(47)
1934	979	1916 Stanford Binet		13·1	Court	Gluecks	(25)
1934	3,584	1916 Stanford Binet	82·2	13·9	Court	Rogers and Austin	(56)
1935	699	Otis Group Test	87·96	10·0	Institution	Lane and Witty	(39)
1937	152	Otis SA test 14 yr. norm.	75·5		Institution	Moore	(50)
1937	21 studies		82·4		Institution	Owen	(54)
1939	1,731	Revised Stanford-Binet	84·45		Court	Mann and Mann	(44)
1945	463	Revised Stanford-Binet and Kulh-mann-Anderson	86·74	10·4	Court and others	Kvaraceus	(38)
1947	300	1916 Stanford-Binet	86·7		Court	Merrill	(48)
1947	500	Revised Stanford-Binet	92·5	11·6	Court	Merrill	(48)
1950	500	Wechsler	92·28	4·2	Institution	Gluecks	(28)

* % 'feeble-minded'; not based on test only.

It is evident from this Table that, apart from fluctuations with the test used and the group tested, there has been a fairly steady rise in the average I.Q. from 71 in 1931 to 92 in 1950, and that since 1934 the incidence of I.Q.'s under 70 has not exceeded 13 per cent. The figure of 92 may not, of course, represent the upper limit, and with further improvements in tests, the average may rise even higher. For instance, although the Glueck group averaged 92 on the full Wechsler test (28), they scored higher on average on the non-verbal sub-scale than on the verbal sub-scale (97·22 to 88·56). The present position, however, is that, with an adequate test and satisfactory sampling, the delinquent population in America differs by no more than 8 I.Q. points from the general population.

(B) *Results in Great Britain.* In Great Britain there have been fewer investigations of the intelligence of delinquents; results vary with the selectivity of samples. Burt (8) with his revision of the Binet scale, found his London group, which was drawn from several sources, to have an average I.Q. of 89, with only 7·8 per cent. testing below I.Q. 70.

Bagot (3) reported 2·3 per cent. of his Liverpool sample to be certifiably defective and Norwood East (18) found 4 per cent. mentally defective in his group of 4,000 adolescents. The L.C.C. School Medical Officer's report of 1930 (42) reports that only 25·2 per cent. of 695 delinquents at the Ponton Road Place of Detention had a mental age not below their chronological age on the 1916 Stanford-Binet. The group was thus inferior to the general child population, as were two Approved School groups reported in the Fifth Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (35). The Classifying Schools are probably representative of the Approved School population. For boys, Gittins (24) reports an average I.Q. of 89·5 on the Terman-Merrill scale for 1,000 consecutive admissions to Aycliffe, and Stott (62) a median I.Q. of 90 at Kingswood. The I.Q. distribution of 515 girls admitted to a Classifying School (2) is similar to that of boys at Aycliffe.

Clinic groups are obviously selected. Bodman and Dunsdon (7) at Bristol found 30·4 per cent. of a sample of 68 and 54 per cent. of a group of 100 to have I.Q.'s below 85; the Portman Clinic distribution, with various tests but chiefly the Terman-Merrill and the Wechsler, for 401 referrals between January 1952 and June 1953 closely resembles that in the general population. Mannheim (46) reports that of 388 juveniles charged at Portsmouth in 1945, 196 were psychologically examined, and of these 46·9 per cent. were mentally subnormal. This figure is higher than the incidence below I.Q. 85 at Aycliffe and lower than that at Bristol, where between March 1944 and March 1945 all Court cases were tested. Dunsdon (17) reports that 19·2 per cent. had I.Q.'s under 70 and 38·7 per cent. were in the 70-84 range. It seems unlikely that this group is representative of Court cases in this country, in view of the incidence of 7·83 per cent. below I.Q. 70 and 29·64 per cent. in the 70-84 range at Aycliffe, and of 4 per cent. and 14 per cent. in these categories respectively at the Portman Clinic. If the Bristol sample were representative of Court cases generally, that part of a Court sample which is not sent to an Approved School or Clinic would have to be of very low intelligence to bring the incidence of low I.Q.'s up to the Bristol figures. This is unlikely, and it seems probable that the Bristol group is a local variation, in respect either of time or of place.

Hence the average intelligence of detected delinquents in Great Britain is not known. The average I.Q. of 90 of the Approved School population is only 2 points below the figure which appears to be the average I.Q. of

delinquents in America. It seems probable, therefore, that delinquent populations in the two countries are similar as regards intelligence.

IV. Control of Cultural Factors

Having estimated the average I.Q. of delinquents, according to the best of the present tests, to be 8 points below the general population norm, the next question arising is the extent to which cultural factors associated with both low intelligence and delinquency account for the difference.

Lichtenstein and Brown (41) made a survey of the intelligence and achievement of children in an area in Chicago with a high delinquency rate. The average Kuhlmann-Anderson I.Q., with mental defectives excluded, was 90·6; with the defectives included the incidence of I.Q.'s below I.Q. 70 was 10 per cent. These results are similar to those obtained by delinquent samples, and in a similar study in New York, Maller (43) found that the average intelligence and achievement scores were low in areas with high delinquency rates, and high where the rate was low. These two studies are suggestive, although more exact control is needed before the difference can be attributed to the influence of cultural factors.

The most inexact form of control is the comparison of delinquent with orphanage children, without a verification that the social backgrounds are similar; as in Moore's (50) study, in which delinquents averaged below the orphanage group. Cultural factors were not much more exactly controlled by Charles (15), whose control group was 'of the same general status'. The low incidence of I.Q.'s under 70 in both the white and negro control groups (1·16 per cent. and 3·4 per cent. respectively), when compared with the figure of 10 per cent. obtained by Lichtenstein and Brown with the same test in a delinquency area, suggests that Charles had a control group of relatively high status.

In the enquiry of Baker, Decker and Hill (4), who were not concerned exclusively with intelligence, delinquents and controls were matched for age, school grade and father's nationality; neighbourhood was also controlled by the pairing of each delinquent with a non-delinquent from the same school. Results of the two groups of 84, aged 10 to 16 years, on a test which is not named, were 55·5 per cent. delinquents to 47·8 per cent. non-delinquents 'inferior', 40·3 per cent. and 43·5 per cent. respectively average, and 4·2 per cent. delinquents and 8·7 per cent of the controls superior. The statistical significance of these figures is not stated but, with the numbers involved, it is unlikely that differences of 4 per cent. and 8 per cent. would be significant. In Burt's (8) enquiry, in which age and social class were matched, the delinquents exceeded the controls in the incidence of I.Q.'s under 70 (7·8 per cent. to 1·2 per cent.).

Merrill's (48) study demonstrates that matching for neighbourhood does not necessarily result in samples similarly distributed in occupational class: although age, sex and locality were matched, 54·1 per cent. of the fathers of the delinquents were in slightly skilled or unskilled occupations, whereas 31·9 per cent. of the control group fathers were in these occupations. Despite this, the groups, which numbered 300 each, did not differ significantly in average I.Q. on the 1916 Stanford-Binet. Since the superiority of the control group might be masked by under-estimation of its brighter adolescents due to the low limit of the scale, the enquiry cannot be regarded as conclusive, and a follow-up five years later did reveal a statistically significant difference favouring the controls, on the Terman-Merrill scale, with which the 100 from each group who could be contacted were examined. Neither the delinquents nor the control group at the follow-up differed significantly in intelligence from their original samples but, as pointed out above, these original groups did differ in occupational class. The evidence from this study is thus inconclusive.

The most recent study by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (28) reveals that even when residence area is more carefully matched than in any of the above enquiries, there are still differences in other cultural variables. In spite of the selection of neighbourhoods for the drawing of controls, by delinquency rate, state of repair, overcrowding, etc., there were still in the delinquent group significantly fewer breadwinners, more unskilled workers and lower incomes; there was more overcrowding in the delinquent group and a slight but statistically significant difference in the cultural level of the home.

These difficulties do not arise when comparisons are made between members of the same family; a control group of the non-delinquent sibs of offenders would ensure a stricter control of cultural stimulation, though other problems arise which can be largely overcome if the pairs are matched for age and sex.

Healy and Bonner (33) gave the intelligence test results of their 105 pairs of sibs matched for age and sex as under :

I.Q.	*Delinquents*		*Non-delinquents*	
	N.	%	N.	%
110 +	14	13	18	17
90–110	55	52	60	57
72–90	33	30·8	24	22·6
71–	3	3	3	3

The significance of the differences is not stated by the authors but, when it is calculated with the use of the chi-squared test, the differences are not

statistically significant, either when in three categories, or when in two categories above and below I.Q. 90. Mental defectives were excluded from the delinquent group. With the reservation that this exclusion entails, it appears that, when cultural stimulation is the same for both, delinquents do not differ significantly in intelligence from non-delinquent sibs.

Two other comparisons of delinquents with non-delinquent sibs have been made, with much smaller samples. Shulman (59, 60), with 28 pairs, found the controls to have an average I.Q. 11 points higher than the delinquents, but Ackerly (1), with 30 pairs, found no difference. Thus, in two out of three studies with sib controls, there were no significant differences in tested intelligence, as was also the case in two out of three enquiries in which neighbourhood was matched by attendance at the same schools. Hence these enquiries on the whole, although none is conclusive, tend to support the contention that complete control would eliminate the difference between delinquents and non-delinquents. The main point that emerges from them is that matching for broad factors such as neighbourhood or occupational class is not sufficient to obtain groups similar in respect of other cultural factors which depress the test score.

Apart from the occupational class factor, the findings of the recent survey made by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (58) of the social background of a random sample of the 11-year-old population in Scotland suggest that the factors of large families and overcrowding, which are significantly related to delinquency, (Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes (11), Ferguson (22), S. and E. Glueck (25) and Tappan (64)) would account for most of the 8-point difference. The average size of family in Bagot's (3) delinquent group was 5·18 compared with 2·97 for working class families in the same district. In the Scottish survey, the average scores, on a test with a range of scores from 0 to 76, of the children of semi-skilled workers in families of five and three children respectively, were 29·8 and 34·8; within the unskilled occupational class there was a difference of 3·3 points. In any size of family, the drop in average score from the least crowded to the most crowded homes was not less than 7 points. Thus, if an allowance of only 1 or 2 I.Q. points is made for the occupational class difference between delinquents and non-delinquents, it seems likely that the factor of overcrowding and large families would account for the remaining 6 or 7 of the 8 I.Q. points by which delinquents differ from the general child population.

In addition, the relatively high incidence among delinquents of emotionally disturbed children, who tend to be under-estimated on the tests, is another factor tending to lower the average of the group.

All these lines of evidence together, therefore, indicate that the 8 I.Q.

points by which delinquents differ from the general population norm are entirely attributable to the depressive effect on the test score of the constellation of factors which differentiate delinquents from the general population. In other words, there would be no difference in intelligence between delinquent and non-delinquent groups matched for all the cultural variables. The only other possibility is that, if the number of variables found to be related to low test scores and to delinquency increases still further, the section of the general population with the necessary constellation of factors may gradually diminish until all that is left is the delinquent population, which alone is characterized by that particular constellation of factors. In this case it would still be necessary to determine whether the occurrence together of low intelligence and delinquency in this group was causal, or accidental through the association of each with the cultural factors.

V. The Significance of the Degree of Low Intelligence

The question of whether mental defect among delinquents exceeds the amount of mental deficiency in the community to a greater extent than the amount of dullness among delinquents exceeds that in the general population is difficult to answer in the absence of comparable groups of delinquents and non-delinquents. In any case defectives are only a small proportion of a delinquent sample (2 per cent. in Bagot's group and 4 per cent. in Norwood East's). Ehrenwald (19) and Ferguson (22) found that delinquency was extremely rare at the lower grades of mental defect.

In Ferguson's Glasgow study (22) there was an incidence of delinquency of 12·2 per cent. among ordinary school-leavers, and one of 23·9 per cent. among special school-leavers. There were, however, 700 Glasgow juveniles in Approved Schools at the time, of whom those aged 14 would have added to the incidence in the ordinary school group. Moreover, adverse family backgrounds were less frequent in this group than in the mentally handicapped group. There is thus no definite information on the relative significance of mental defect, borderline defect and dullness.

VI. The Operation of Low Intelligence in Delinquency

Further light on the problem may be gained by defining in what manner low intelligence might operate in helping to produce delinquency, and then determining whether there is evidence to suggest that it does operate in such a manner.

In the days of the single-factor view of causation, low intelligence was thought to act as a direct factor, through the dull child's inability to distinguish 'right' from 'wrong'. This assumption implies that an intellectual knowledge of socially accepted standards is sufficient to ensure con-

forming behaviour. Williams (69) has given several comparisons of such knowledge in delinquents and non-delinquents, all of which show that there is no discoverable difference between them.

Little study has been made of the personality of the dull child; *a priori* assumptions have, of course, been made: *e.g.*, the dull are said to lack foresight and to be unable to delay the immediate satisfactions of needs for the sake of attaining remoter goals. However, only the first characteristic, the inability to perceive the relation between two events, an action and its consequence, relates to cognition; the modification of behaviour in the light of foresight would appear to depend on the strength of the immediate motivation and on other non-intellectual controlling processes. Since this uncontrolled behaviour is also characteristic of emotional immaturity and instability, it seems that the time has come to question the assumptions about the rôle of low intelligence in impulsive, unforeseeing behaviour, and to enquire whether this behaviour is always the outcome of non-intellectual factors, or whether, other things being equal, the dull are more prone to lack of foresight than the average.

If the latter alternative is correct, then low intelligence would be an indirect factor in a delinquent act which occurred as a result of impulsive action through lack of foresight. This cannot be decided at present. It would also be an indirect factor if the process of internalizing socially accepted standards of behaviour were slower in the dull child. Chassell (16), who made an extensive survey of the literature, reports positive but very low correlations (·10 to ·39) between intelligence and certain standards such as honesty. The child of 13 years with a mental age of 9 years, however, is no more handicapped intellectually than the child of average intelligence aged 9 years; hence the more numerous 9-year-olds should be as great a risk as the dull 13-year-olds. Despite the complication of other factors, there should be, if low intelligence operates indirectly in either of the above ways, a higher incidence of delinquency at 9 than at 13 years, whereas the reverse is true. On this reasoning, too, it should follow that the number of average and brighter children who were delinquent would decrease with age. The Tables presented by Gittins (24) show about the same distribution of I.Q.'s for every age from 8 to 16 years.

As for other ways in which low intelligence might act indirectly, the dull child may be less capable of dealing with stress from other sources than the average child; or his low intelligence may involve the child in situations of emotional stress, such as intellectual or social misfitting, thereby forming an addition to an existing load. The question therefore may be tackled by asking whether, under comparable conditions of stress and delinquency-proneness from other adverse factors, the child of low intelligence is more

likely to become delinquent than a child of average or superior intelligence. If so, the dull delinquent would be under less stress from other factors than the brighter delinquent. Few investigators have made comparisons between delinquents of lower and higher intelligence; Eleanor Glueck (29), however, divided the sample of 1,000 juvenile delinquents into two groups with I.Q.'s above and below 80 and compared them. The main results of the comparison have been compiled by the writer into the following Table.

		I.Q. 80 *and under* %	*I.Q.* 81 *plus* %
Factors occurring more frequently in low I.Q. group	Low intelligence in family	73·0	45·0
	Illiteracy in parents	40·7	23·9
	Parents without schooling	60·0	—
	Home overcrowded, dirty, shabby, etc.	78·0	55·4
	Near-poverty	84·6	72·9
	Parents unskilled workers	53·5	37·5
	Retardation (two years) at school	91·6	50·9
	Truancy or school misconduct	93·0	82·0
	Mother hostile or indifferent	22·2	16·5
	Father over-strict or no control	75·6	66·5
	Mother over-strict or no control	77·0	67·0
	Mother under 16 at marriage	7·2	2·3
	Poor health	51·2	40·1
	Over-suggestible or emotionally unstable	46·9	29·9
	Other members of family delinquent	92·0	86·0
	Continuance in delinquency after treatment	90·0	84·0
Factors occurring less frequently in low I.Q. group	Other mental abnormalities in family (not mental defect)	39·0	50·5
	Club membership	6·3	11·7
No difference between groups in:	Possibilities for culture conflict (native-born children of foreign-born parents)	70% in both	
	Father hostile or indifferent	33% in both	
	Psychosis, neurosis, epilepsy, etc.	—	
	Mother working	40% in both	
	Parental incompatibility	37% in both	

The number of adverse factors whose incidence is greater in the duller group is higher in the dull than in the brighter group. Glueck at the time, in 1935, interpreted the data to support a relation of low intelligence to

delinquency, regarding the differences as flowing 'from the mental deficiency of the delinquents themselves and from the substream of deficiency in their families'. The data, however, equally admit of the opposite interpretation.

Leaving aside the conditions of poverty and overcrowding, which low intelligence in many of the parents may have played a part in selecting, there are still six factors which occur more frequently in the low I.Q. group compared with one factor in the other group. These six factors (*viz.*, the mother's unfavourable attitude, unsatisfactory discipline by both parents, poor health, other delinquents in the family and emotional instability of a less severe kind) would appear to be unrelated to the intelligence of either child or parents. Secondly, there is the same high incidence in both groups of possibilities for culture-conflict, an unfavourable paternal attitude and parental incompatibility. Thus, this one study leads to the conclusion that the dull delinquent is at least under equal stress from other adverse conditions as the brighter offender, and from this it might be inferred that the dull child is not more prone to become delinquent than the brighter child, under comparable conditions of stress and delinquency-proneness.

On the other hand, Levy (40), in analysing 700 cases referred to the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago, found indications that dull children tended to have problems of a delinquent type, and brighter children personality problems. When the 50 children with I.Q.'s of 110 and over from the lowest occupational class were compared with the 70 from the highest occupational class with I.Q.'s of 81 to 90, the trend was still significant, but only at the ·05 level. To what extent this finding is general is not known.

VIII. A Qualitative Study

As suggested above, another possible manner in which low intelligence might operate as a factor in delinquency is that its presence may give rise to a situation of emotional stress through intellectual or social misfitting. It is obviously a strain for an individual to be required to attempt work which is beyond the level of his ability. Denis Carroll (12) reports that this factor appeared to act as a precipitant to delinquency in the Army. In civilian life it is easier to change from a job which causes intellectual strain, but the child at school cannot do so.

Social misfitting may occur if an individual is constantly at a disadvantage compared with others. If he is more ignorant, 'slow-on-the-uptake', always at the bottom of the class and backward in the classroom, he may become a butt. The delinquent's deficiency in general knowledge has

frequently been remarked on, and Trenaman (65) found that this was very marked in a group of 200 delinquent soldiers. The deficiency in knowledge, however, is not necessarily the result of low intelligence, even when the latter is present. The excessive amount of educational backwardness among delinquents at all levels of intelligence is a well-established fact. The verbal inferiority of delinquents compared with non-delinquents of the same intelligence and cultural background was demonstrated by the Gluecks (23), whose group of 500 had a significantly lower I.Q. than the control group (88·56 to 92) on the verbal sub-scale of the Wechsler test, although the two groups did not differ in performance I.Q. The failure of the delinquent to gain as much general knowledge as his associates at work or school may be the result of a lack of interest which has a non-intellectual source, whether or not he is intellectually inferior. It should perhaps be borne in mind, at least for school children, that the assumption of the social disadvantages of scholastic failure in a group of children may be a projection of adult values on to child groups ; in their system of values, greater importance may be attached to physical prowess or ability for games. Dislike of school by delinquents in general is far more common than it is among non-delinquents (Merrill, 48 ; Healy and Bronner, 33 ; S. and E. Glueck, 28). In connection with the present problem, an investigation of attitude to school among delinquents of differing intelligence would be of value.

These aspects of intellectual and social misfitting were examined in a series of individual case studies at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.). The cases studied were those between the ages of 8 and 17 years with I.Q's below 90 who were referred to the Portman Clinic between June and November 1953, excluding two truancy and three behaviour problem cases and five others for whom complete data could not be obtained. Three cases referred before June who were attending for treatment were also included, making a total of 25 cases in all. Except for one sex offence, the delinquency was stealing ; 16 had committed more than two offences.

In addition to the usual data obtained at the Clinic examination, as described by Weber (68), the child was interviewed, and tests of educational attainment were given, namely, Burt's Graded Reading Test, Spelling Test and Mental Arithmetic Test and Schonell's Reading Comprehension Test (R.3). Further information was obtained from the school and the mother.

The age range of the group of 16 boys and 9 girls was 8–3 to 16–4, with a mean of 13–5. Parental occupations were semi-skilled or unskilled work, except for two cases whose fathers were skilled workers and one boy who was in the care of the Local Authority.

22 Terman-Merrill and 3 Wechsler I.Q.'s, which gave an average of 79·56, were distributed as under :

I.Q.	N.
85–89	9
80–84	5
75–79	3
70–74	5
65–69	2
60–64	1
	25

The mean educational quotient of the group was 69·14 ; in 8 cases the E.Q. was 85 per cent. or less of the I.Q. Each case was examined qualitatively to determine whether stress over low intelligence had arisen. As regards intellectual misfitting, a stress situation was considered to be that in which the child was expected, at home, at school or at work, whether by direct pressure or by the indirect pressure of unfavourable comparison, to perform at an intellectual level or rate which was beyond his level of ability.

There were no gross misfits for ability. The three cases with I.Q.'s in the E.S.N. school range (below I.Q. 70) were all in classes for backward children in the ordinary school. Six of the seven in the I.Q. range 70 to 79 were in the lowest class for that age level. The remaining one was in a class which is described as the eldest age grouping. Despite an I.Q. of only 72 (Terman-Merrill), her attainments, which are level with her mental age, were rated by the teacher, as compared with the rest of the class, fourth on a 5-point scale, but it became evident in the interview that the school work situation placed a strain on her. Excessive attempts to conceal her low ability were also commented on independently by the headmaster and the examining psychiatrist. She also appears to be a social misfit with children of her own age, although mixing well with younger children. All of the ten school-children in the 80-89 I.Q. range were in Secondary Modern Schools, or in the lowest stream of a primary school.

Thus only one child appears to find the work at school a strain, although two others in addition have been included as under stress at school. One, with an I.Q. of 66, is at the bottom of a class for backward children. She also does not mix well with other children, complaining that they are rough, but she associates with a few ' cronies of the same type ', so is not completely rejected. The other case is a boy with an I.Q. of 77, whose attainments are level with his ability, but who is among the lowest in the class. He does not mix well either, but this may be as much the outcome of the personality he has developed through being over-protected by his mother as of his intellectual deficiencies.

Pressure at home was found in two cases. In one case it took the form of unfavourable comparison with sibs, with pressure to get better reports (I.Q. 76): there were no social difficulties in this case. The pressure in the other case (I.Q. 66) took the form of home and child care responsibilities placed on her by the mother in ignorance of the girl's intellectual limitations. She is a butt for other children at school, but the masochistic trends in her personality may be largely responsible for this. The last four cases all disliked school.

There appeared to be no stress from intellectual misfitting among those who had left school. Other cases who might be under stress are those whose attainments are rated fifth on a 5-point scale. Three of these are already included in the group under stress; the other 4 are all retarded in attainments below their mental age; if they were working up to their ability, they would not be at the bottom of the class, and in all four cases difficulty in learning appears to be the outcome of emotional disturbance rather than of difficulties in following the teaching. The remainder of the cases are rated, in relation to their class, as average or just below average. In all the cases where attainments lag behind ability, emotional disturbance is present.

The cases who were regarded as misfits socially were those who were reported by the teacher as solitary or rejected by class-mates, or who, in the interview, talked of such difficulties. There were nine who showed some difficulties, four of whom were discussed above as being also under stress from intellectual misfitting. The other five are social misfits for reasons not connected with their low intelligence. Two were withdrawn personalities, more concerned with a phantasy life than with social relations; a third was a less seriously disturbed withdrawn child. The fourth was a seriously disturbed boy of 8 years who had reacted to school with double incontinence, and suffered teasing and rejection by other children in consequence. The fifth, a girl of 14 years, was not rejected by other girls at school, but was simply not interested in them; her social life took the form of evenings in cafés with men, when her low ability did not present any handicaps.

Thus no more than five cases appear to suffer stress at home, school or work, in consequence of their low intelligence. No generalizations may of course be made from this group as to the extent to which this factor would be found among a larger and more representative group of dull delinquents.

In these five cases, the stress appears to have been no more than an aggravating factor, the other factors in the case being of greater importance. An example is a boy of 13 years who had just committed his first offence, with no history of previous undetected offences. When the boy was five, the father returned to the family from the Army, to administer discipline with severe beatings; naturally the boy feared him. The mother, to whom

the boy is very much attached, has recently taken to leaving home for a few days when she finds the father too difficult; and it was during one of her absences that the boy committed the offence, led on by a boy who had already been guilty of delinquency. The fact that the father presses the boy to get good school reports, as his sibs do, seems merely to be an aggravating factor in an already adverse father-child relation.

In the case of the only serious delinquent of the five cases, there were other unfavourable conditions present, in addition to the strain at school. The girl had poor health, which had entailed her going away twice in the first few years of life, returning on the first occasion to find a second baby requiring her mother's attention, with consequent jealousy. The mother, who now has seven children under 11 years, has never been supported by her husband, who has rarely worked and has been in prison six times. The mother's social standards are rather poor too, and the home is chaotic, with little control. Finally the situation between the parents has ended in a separation. Thus stress from low ability at school is not by any means the only unfavourable factor.

Similarly, where children were under no pressure to work beyond the limits of low ability, there was in each case a constellation of unfavourable factors which even in the case of a child of average or superior intelligence, might well be considered sufficient cause for the delinquency.

In four of the cases in the group, one or more sibs of higher intelligence were also delinquent, and the same background factors were clearly operative for each. These cases suggest that, where certain conditions exist, delinquency will occur whatever the child's intelligence. That dull children do not become delinquent under conditions of lesser stress and delinquency-proneness than brighter children, is suggested by Eleanor Glueck's comparison, and Healy and Bronner demonstrated that the relation with the parents differentiates groups of delinquent and non-delinquent sibs who are similarly distributed in respect of intelligence.

The one mental defective who was referred during the period of the study (Binet I.Q. 49) was not a delinquent, nor even a behaviour problem, her referral having been for inability to learn. The work of the E.S.N. school was a strain for her, but the home was favourable in all respects. Two higher-grade defectives (I.Q.'s 58 and 63) referred later were certainly under stress at ordinary schools, but the other circumstances in both cases are extremely unfavourable.

The files of cases with I.Q.'s under 90 referred between January 1952 and June 1953 are not sufficiently detailed for an examination of the school situation, but there is again in most cases a considerable load of adverse factors in each, particularly in the histories of persistent offenders.

VIII. Intelligence, Type of Offence and Recidivism

Since the majority of juvenile offenders commit larceny and allied offences it is unlikely that those committing these offences will differ in intelligence from delinquents in general. Thus the relation of intelligence to certain types of offence involves only those types of offence which are relatively rare. With a qualification about the validity of the results, in view of the small numbers in a sample of 500 committing other offences than stealing, Merrill (48) found a tendency for higher intelligence to be associated with forgery, malicious damage and being beyond control and for lower intelligence to be related to sex offences, truancy, vagrancy and assault. Those who stole did not differ in intelligence from the whole group. Norwood East (18) found a significantly lower average I.Q. for sex offences than for other types of offence among 4,000 boys aged 16 to 20, and Milner (49) found sex offences to have an incidence of 25 per cent. among adult defective criminals compared with one of 3 per cent. among criminals in general. Mann and Mann (44) report a tendency for adolescent sex-delinquent girls to have low I.Q.'s and Shulman (59, 60) quotes an unpublished finding by Tendler that girls who became pregnant scored lower on the Porteus Maze than those who did not.

There are further difficulties in method in the examination of intelligence and recidivism. A comparison between recidivists and first offenders does not reveal the maximum difference, since some of the latter are potential recidivists or already have a history of undetected offences, and a follow-up method is more satisfactory.

The study of Mann and Mann (45), although frequently quoted as demonstrating a negative relation between intelligence and recidivism, was, as the authors point out, a re-test of only those recidivists of the original sample who were thought to be borderline defectives, and who were referred for confirmation before placement.

Conflicting results on intelligence and recidivism have been found in various enquiries. Frank (23) reports that 33 per cent. of the mentally defective delinquents in a group of 401 had had two prior commitments to the institution, compared with a maximum of 20 per cent. in any of the other I.Q. ranges, and that 70 per cent. of them had been arrested previously, compared with 50 per cent. in the inferior or average groups and 56 per cent. in the borderline group. E. Glueck (29) found that 90 per cent. of the group of 1,000 juvenile delinquents with I.Q.'s under 81 continued in delinquency, whereas 84 per cent. in the group with I.Q.'s over 80 recidivated, but the difference is small in relation to the high incidence of recidivism in

both groups. A similar result was obtained by Epps (20) who found among girls who had undergone Borstal training a tendency for the dull to be slightly more numerous in the group recalled for further training than among the original sample. No difference in intelligence between first offenders and recidivists was found by Lane and Witty (39), Merrill (48) and Kirkpatrick (37). Calhoon (10), who followed up 100 average and 100 dull boys, found that the group which was average in intelligence greatly exceeded the dull group in the number of subsequent court appearances and the time spent in institutions. Hill (34), with a group of male delinquents aged 16 to 20, found that the recidivists scored 14 points higher on average on the Army Alpha test than the first offenders. A similar result with the same test with 4,188 adults was obtained by Hartmann (32) with the age factor controlled. On the other hand the follow-up method with adults has revealed a tendency for recidivists to be slightly inferior (26, 27). Comparisons within a sample thus reveal no difference in intelligence between recidivists and first offenders, whereas with the follow-up method, recidivists appear to be very slightly inferior to those who reformed.

IX. Summary and Conclusions

Although the single-factor view is no longer held, there is some divergence in present opinion as to the significance of low intelligence in relation to delinquency.

The average I.Q. of delinquents in the U.S.A. and Great Britain has been estimated at 92, and it appears probable that the difference between this figure and the general population norm is accounted for by the association with delinquency of that constellation of cultural factors which adversely affects the test score. Since these factors have not been adequately controlled in any enquiry, this hypothesis has not been proved, but there is considerable evidence to support it.

As a result of improvements in tests and sampling methods, the tested intelligence of delinquents in America has steadily risen between 1910 and 1950. The figure of 92 may not represent the upper limit and, with the application of tests which are less culturally-loaded, the upward trend may continue. A delinquent group which averaged 92·28 on the Wechsler test did in fact score higher on the non-verbal sub-scale than on the verbal section.

The average I.Q. of children in an American delinquency area was found to be only 90. The test results of children in Scotland from large families in overcrowded homes in the lowest occupational classes strongly suggest that a delinquent group would not differ in average test result from a non-delinquent group similarly constituted in respect of these factors. Where the control of cultural stimulation is more adequate, delinquents do in fact

more closely resemble control groups in intelligence. The under-estimation of the intelligence of a number of emotionally disturbed children in a delinquent group may lower the average of the whole group.

The results of one study indicate that dull delinquents suffered from at least an equal weight of various adverse conditions as the rest of the sample. In a qualitative study of clinic referrals, low intelligence was found to operate as an aggravating factor in five cases ; in all the 25 cases there were combinations of unfavourable circumstances. In four of the families which were studied, two or three sibs of differing intelligence were delinquent as a result of the operation of the same conditions.

The conclusion derived from this survey is that low intelligence plays little or no part in delinquency. In a certain unknown proportion of delinquents, pressure to work at a level or rate which is rendered impossible by low ability gives rise to stress. When there is a good deal of strain due to other adverse factors this additional stress may exacerbate the situation, and low intelligence may thus indirectly act as an aggravating factor, although it does not appear to do so in a sufficient number of cases to make dull children more numerous in a delinquent population than among comparable non-delinquents. The stress engendered by intellectual misfitting for the mental defective may be greater than that of the dull child, but even in this case the intellectual defect is not by any means the sole factor in delinquency and in some cases it is of minor importance. Intelligence appears to be negatively related to sex delinquencies, which are relatively more frequent among defective delinquents than others. The conflicting results of studies of intelligence and recidivism do not allow the abandonment of this question ; they show only that more follow-up studies are necessary.

REFERENCES

(1) ACKERLEY, S. ' Rebellion and its Relation to Delinquency and Neurosis in Sixty Adolescents.' *Amer. J. Ortho-psychiat.*, 1933, **3**, 146-58.

(2) ASSOCIATION OF HEADMASTERS, HEADMISTRESSES AND MATRONS OF APPROVED SCHOOLS (Technical Sub-committee, 1954). ' Girls in Approved Schools,' Monograph No. 6. Issued as Supplement to the *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, April, 1954.

(3) BAGOT, J. ' Juvenile Delinquency: A Comparative Study of the Position in Liverpool and in England and Wales.' London: Jonathan Cape, 1941.

(4) BAKER, H. J., DECKER, F. J., and HILL, A. S. 'A Study of Juvenile Theft.' *J. Educ. Res.*, 1929, **20**, 81-7.

(5) BEANE, J. C. 'A Survey of 300 Delinquent Girls.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1931, **15**, 198-208.

(6) BLACKBURN, J. 'Influence of the Social Environment on Intelligence Test Scores.' London: British Social Biology Council, Occasional Papers. No. 4. 1948.
(7) BODMAN, F. H., and DUNSDON, M. I. 'Juvenile Delinquency in War Time: Report from the Bristol Child Guidance Clinic.' *Lancet*, 1941, **241**, 572-4.
(8) BURT, C. L. 'The Young Delinquent.' University of London Press, 1925.
(9) CALDWELL, M. G. 'Juvenile Delinquency in Wisconsin.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1930, **14**, 87-95.
(10) CALHOON, C. H. 'A Follow-up Study of 100 Normal and 100 Sub-Normal Delinquent Boys.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1928, **12**, 236-40.
(11) CARR-SAUNDERS, A. M., MANNHEIM, H., and RHODES, E. C. 'Young Offenders.' Cambridge University Press, 1942.
(12) CARROLL, DENIS. 'Report to the Second International Congress on Criminology.' Paris, 1950. III, p. 232.
(13) CATTELL, R. B. 'A Culture-Free Intelligence Test. I.' *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1940, **31**, 161-79.
(14) CATTELL, R. B. 'A Culture-Free Intelligence Test. II.' *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1941, **32**, 81-100.
(15) CHARLES, C. M. 'A Comparison of the Intelligence Quotients of Incarcerated Delinquent White and American Negro Boys and of Groups of St. Louis Public School Boys.' *J. Appl. Psychol.*, 1936, **20**, 499-510.
(16) CHASSELL, CLARA F. 'The Relation between Morality and Intellect.' Teachers' College Contributions to Education, 1935, No. 607.
(17) DUNSDON, M. I. 'Notes on the Intellectual and Social Capacities of a Group of Young Delinquents.' *Brit. J. Psychol.*, 1947, **38**, 62-6.
(18) EAST, W. NORWOOD, STOCKS, P., and YOUNG, H. T. P. 'The Adolescent Criminal: A Medico-Sociological Study of Four Thousand Male Adolescents.' London: Churchill, 1942.
(19) EHRENWALD, H. J. 'Delinquent Defectives.' *J. Ment. Sci.*, 1945, **91**, 113-18.
(20) ELLIOTT, MABEL A. 'Crime in Modern Society.' New York: Harper Bros., 1952, p. 328.
(21) EPPS, P. 'A Further Survey of Female Delinquents undergoing Borstal Training.' *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1954, **4**, 265-71.
(22) FERGUSON, T. 'The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting.' Oxford University Press, 1952.
(23) FRANK, B. 'Mental Level as a Factor in Crime.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1931, **15**, 192-7.
(24) GITTINS, JOHN. 'Approved School Boys.' H.M.S.O., 1952.
(25) GLUECK, S., and GLUECK, E. T. 'One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents.' Harvard University Press, 1934.
(26) GLUECK, S., and GLUECK, E. T. 'Later Criminal Careers.' New York: The Commonwealth Fund, and London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
(27) GLUECK, S., and GLUECK, E. T. 'Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up.' New York: The Commonwealth Fund, and London: Oxford University Press, 1943.
(28) GLUECK, S., and GLUECK, E. T. 'Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency.' Harvard University Press, 1950.
(29) GLUECK, E. T. 'Mental Retardation and Juvenile Delinquency.' *Ment. Hyg.* 1935, **19**, 549-72.

(30) GODDARD, H. H. 'Feeble-Mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences.' New York: Macmillan, 1914.
(31) GORING, CHARLES. 'The English Convict.' H.M.S.O., 1919.
(32) HARTMANN, A. A. 'Recidivism and Intelligence.' *J. Crim. Law*, 1940, **31**, 417-26.
(33) HEALY, W., and BRONNER, A. F. 'New Light on Delinquency and its Treatment.' Yale University Press, 1936.
(34) HILL, G. E. 'The Intelligence of Young Male offenders.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1936, **20**, 20-7.
(35) HOME OFFICE. 'Fifth Report of the Children's Branch.' H.M.S.O., 1938.
(36) JONES, H. E. 'Environmental Influences on Mental Development.' In Carmichael, L. (ed.), 'Manual of Child Psychology.' New York: Wiley, 1946.
(37) KIRKPATRICK, M. E. 'Some Significant Factors in Juvenile Recidivism.' *Amer. J. Ortho-psychiat.*, 1937, **7**, 349-59.
(38) KVARACEUS, W. C. 'Juvenile Delinquency and the School.' New York: World Book Co., 1945.
(39) LANE, H. A., and WITTY, P. A. 'The Mental Ability of Delinquent Boys.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1935, **19**, 1-12.
(40) LEVY, JOHN. 'A Quantitative Study of the Relationship between Intelligence and Economic Status as Factors in the Etiology of Children's Behaviour Problems.' *Amer. J. Ortho-psychiat.*, 1931, **1**, 152-62.
(41) LICHTENSTEIN, M., and BROWN, A. W. 'Intelligence and Achievement of Children in a Delinquency Area.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1938, **22**, 1-25.
(42) L.C.C. SCHOOL MEDICAL OFFICERS' REPORT, 1930.
(43) MALLER, J. B. 'Juvenile Delinquency in New York: A Summary of a Comprehensive Report.' *J. Psychol.* 1937, **3**, 1-25.
(44) MANN, C. W., and MANN, H. P. 'Age and Intelligence of a Group of Juvenile Delinquents.' *J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol.*, 1939, **34**, 351-60.
(45) MANN, C. W., and MANN, H. P. 'An Analysis of the Results obtained by Retesting Juvenile Delinquents.' *J. Psychol.*, 1939, **8**, 133-41.
(46) MANNHEIM, H. 'Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown.' London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1948.
(47) MCCLURE, W. E. 'The Intelligence of Six Hundred Juvenile Delinquents.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1935, **17**, 35-43.
(48) MERRILL, MAUDE A. 'Problems of Child Delinquency.' Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, and London: Harrap, 1947.
(49) MILNER, K. O. 'Delinquent Types of Mentally Defective Persons.' *J. Ment. Sci.*, 1949, **95**, 842-59.
(50) MOORE, J. E. 'A Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Delinquent and Dependent Boys.' *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1937, **28**, 355-66.
(51) NEFF, W. S. 'Socio-Economic Status and Intelligence: A Critical Survey.' *Psychol. Bull.*, 1938, **35**, 727-37.
(52) NISBET, JOHN. 'Family Environment and Intelligence.' *Eugen. Rev.*, 1953, **45**, 31-46.
(53) NONY, C. 'Le Problème Des Rapports Entre Délinquance et Infériorité de l'Intelligence n'est pas résolu.' *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Criminology*, Paris, 1950, III, 344-51.

(54) OWEN, MARY BESS. 'The Intelligence of Institutionalised Juvenile Delinquents.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1937, **21**, 199-205.
(55) RECKLESS, W. C. 'The Crime Problem.' New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950, p. 25.
(56) ROGERS, K. H., and AUSTIN, O. L. 'Intelligence Quotients of Juvenile Delinquents.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1934, **18**, 103-6.
(57) ROUKE, F. L. 'Recent Contributions of Psychology to the Study of Criminogenesis.' *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Criminology*, Paris, 1950, III, 107.
(58) SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION. 'Social Implications of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey.' University of London Press, 1953.
(59) SHULMAN, H. M. 'Intelligence and Juvenile Delinquency.' *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Criminology*, Paris, 1950, III, 111-31.
(60) SHULMAN, H. M. 'Intelligence and Juvenile Delinquency.' *J. Crim. Law and Criminol.*, 1951, **41**, 763-81.
(61) SNYDER, M. A. 'A Comparison of Mental Traits and Attitudes of Delinquent Boys and Girls.' *J. Juv. Res.*, 1931, **15**, 181-91.
(62) STOTT, D. H. 'Saving Children from Delinquency.' University of London Press, 1952.
(63) SUTHERLAND, E. H. 'Mental Deficiency and Crime.' In Kimball Young (ed.), 'Social Attitudes.' New York: Holt, 1931.
(64) TAPPAN, PAUL W. 'Juvenile Delinquency.' New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 121-2, 1949.
(65) TRENAMAN, JOSEPH. 'Out of Step.' London, 1952.
(66) VERNON, P. E. 'Psychological Studies of the Mental Quality of the Population.' *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1950, **20**, 35-42.
(67) VERNON, P. E. 'Recent Investigations of Intelligence and Its Measurement.' *Eugen. Rev.*, 1951, **43**, 125-37.
(68) WEBER, HILDA. 'The Borderline Defective Delinquent.' *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1952, **3**, 173-84.
(69) WILLIAMS, H. M. 'Intelligence and Delinquency.' Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1940, **39** (I), 291-7.
(70) ZELENY, L. D. 'Feeble-Mindedness and Criminal Conduct.' *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1933, **38**, 564-76.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from Vol. V, p.* 229)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLIII. PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CHILD-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS AS ASSOCIATED WITH DELINQUENCY.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.

(2) *Subject of Research:* The case material comprises delinquent and non-delinquent boys together with their parents. Some aspects of the respective rôles of fathers and mothers are being investigated, and some hypotheses connected with maternal as well as with paternal separations tested. The technique employed in this study is that of a specially designed 'Clinical-Interview-Questionnaire'.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?:* University of London (L.S.E.): Dr. H. Mannheim and Dr. H. Himmelweit. *Research Worker:* Mr. R. G. Andry, M.A., A.B.Ps.S.

(4) *Commenced:* October 1953. *Completion expected:* June 1955.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLIV. SYNDROMES OF STEALING.

(1) John Rich, M.D., D.P.M.

(2) An attempt to discover 'syndromes' of stealing by studying 300 boys charged with some form of theft. The hypothesis is that the form the offence takes depends on their age and parental relationship.

(3) Maudsley Hospital, London. *Research Worker:* John Rich, M.D., D.P.M. (for University of London Ph.D.).

(4) October 1953. *Completion expected:* Summer 1955.

(5) No results so far published.

RESEARCH NOTES

A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE PERCEPTUAL (RORSCHACH) CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEXUAL OFFENDER [1]

Introduction. From observation, it would appear that prisoners demonstrate personality variations that tend to correspond with the type of offence committed, and in particular, the sexual offender appears to be dissimilar to others. This observation is one corollary of the central feature of criminal investigation practice, which requires the detailed recording of the *modus operandi* of each offender. If the observation is valid, it should be possible to demonstrate corre-

[1] This paper is published with the permission of the Prison Commissioners although it does not necessarily represent their views. The writer wishes to thank the Commissioners for permission to publish, and Doctors P. M. Coats and G. Wray, of H.M. Prison, Birmingham, for discussion.

sponding variations in perception of, and response to, visual stimuli—pain, fatigue, stress, motivation, etc.—within a criminal group.

As a preliminary to the possible study of this aspect it was decided to examine the Rorschach records of sexual and non-sexual prisoners, in the hope that these records would provide a lead for the future examination of visual perceptual variations.

Procedure. The writer selected the Rorschach records of fifty successive male sexual offenders examined by him at Birmingham Prison during late 1952 and early 1953. Similarly, the records of fifty successive male non-sexual offenders were selected in respect of the same period. This selection method would appear to satisfy statistical requirements of randomness, although the records of known psychotics were not included. The Rorschach test was administered by the writer in accordance with the system reported by Klopfer and Kelley (1946), and for the purposes of statistical analysis the various scoring categories were listed for each subject in the two samples. Inspection revealed that the only test features likely to bear any relationship to the type of crime were: (*a*) responses concerned with the use of colour, and (*b*) responses classified as being of sex or anatomy content. There was no significant difference between the two groups in respect of age at the time of examination (average approximately 31½ years), the Vocabulary score of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (Wechsler, 1944), the total number of Rorschach responses, the number of Human, Animal and Inanimate Movement responses (M. FM and m), the mean reaction time to the chromatic and the achromatic cards, the occurrence of the Colour Shock, and the score ' Sum C ' (with the exception of the complete avoidance of colour, which is referred to below).

Criminal Behaviour. The subjects are classified below according to the charge current in 1952–53. No differentiation is made between remanded and convicted prisoners, and the number and type of previous convictions, if any, are ignored.

(*a*) *Sexual:* (i) Involving females: 38 subjects.
(ii) Involving males: 12 subjects.

' Involving females ' refers to indecent exposure (14 cases), indecent assault (19), rape (1), carnal knowledge of girls under sixteen years (2), indecent telephone message (1), indecent act (1).

' Involving males ' refers to indecent assault on boy (1), gross indecency (7), anal intercourse with boys (2), anal intercourse with men (1), importuning (1).

(*b*) *Non-sexual:* (i) Dishonesty: 30 subjects.
(ii) Violence: 13 subjects.
(iii) Miscellaneous: 7 subjects.

Colour Determined Concepts (*Rorschach*). Five of the Rorschach cards are coloured and the other five are black and white. Relative reactivity to the chromatic aspects of the stimuli is an important consideration in the interpretation of an individual record. With the coloured cards each response or concept is determined by the form of the stimulus alone, the colour of the stimulus alone or by form and colour in combination. The use of colour in a record is scored by weighting each response that involves the use of colour, and calculating a score known as ' Sum C '.

By ignoring the degree or frequency in the use of colour in the test, and by merely subdividing each group into those subjects who use colour and those who

do not use colour, it is found that 24 of the 50 subjects in the Sexual group avoid colour, compared with 14 of the 50 Non-sexual subjects. This association just fails to reach significance at the 0·05 level of P. (Chi-square calculated to be 4·24, and corrected by Yate's formula, 3·439.)

A similar subdivision within the Sexual group reveals that 23 of the 38 subjects classified under ' Involving females ' avoided the use of colour, as against 1 of the 11 subjects classified under ' Involving males '. This association is significant at the 0·01 level of P. (Chi-square calculated to be 9·9, and corrected 7·932.)

A comparison of the ' Involving female ' group with the Non-sexual group gives a further indication of significant association—23 out of 38 avoid colour compared with 14 out of 50, respectively. (The calculated corrected value of Chi-square for this distribution is 8·085, significant at the 0·01 level of P.) Inspection of the ' Involving female ' group shows that the avoidance of colour is confined entirely to offenders concerned with indecent exposure and indecent assault. Only 43 per cent. and 21 per cent. of these subjects, respectively, used colour.

Sexual and Anatomy Responses (*Rorschach*). Clear-cut sexual concepts were only given by three of the members of the Sexual group, and no such responses were given by the members of the Non-sexual group. Eleven of the 50 cases in the former group gave two or more anatomy or sexual responses, compared with only 4 of the 50 cases in the other group. This distribution indicates an association between the two variables but tends to support the interpretation of anatomy responses as being indicative of sexual pre-occupation. The Chi-square failed to reach significance in this case.

Conclusions and Discussion. The observation that prisoners tend to show variations which correspond to the type of crime committed is supported a little by this preliminary analysis. The colour aspects of the Rorschach test are traditionally regarded as being isomorphous with the emotional aspects of the personality, so that further study might profitably be concerned with variations in emotional responsiveness. On the other hand, avoidance of colour on the test is almost synonymous with introversion (in Rorschach typology) and this might be usefully examined by behavioural tests designed to measure introversion/extraversion in the Eysenck sense. Furthermore, certain neurotics tend to avoid colour on this test, so that the results of the current study may be suggestive of the degree of neuroticism in the two groups.

Psychological researches have not yet demonstrated that the colour-emotionality link is entirely valid (Granger, 1953; Keehn, 1953), and at this stage it is probably advisable to regard the results as simply suggestive of a perceptual variation (requiring examination by more rigid techniques) that might possibly be linked with physiological dysfunction. Certainly, differentiation might be an important factor to consider in the interpretation of statistical researches which regard delinquents as forming a homogeneous group in so far as the nature of the offence is concerned.

Tentatively, however, one can suggest that the test results point to the rather severe disturbance—possibly anxiety or emotional disturbance—present in the passive sexual offender but perhaps not so pronounced in other offenders as a group. The important aspect of indecent exposure or assault, when no violence is involved and rape is not attempted, is that the behaviour is only partial fulfilment of the complete biological behaviour pattern. The writer has often observed

during interview with the offender, when children are the subjects of the assault, that the offence was not restricted to assault because of lack of opportunity for intercourse or attempted intercourse.

Further relevant points are: (*a*) the stereotyped nature of this offence—*i.e.*, the indecent exposure or assault offender rarely commits any other type of offence; (*b*) such offenders are usually well-behaved in confinement—*i.e.*, in a non-stressful environment; (*c*) the almost compulsive nature of the offence; and (*d*) the inefficiency of punishment. These points are all commonplace and the individual psychodynamics of passive offenders are complex and vary considerably from subject to subject, but it is worth noting the similarity of their behaviour with that of patients diagnosed as neurotic (particularly the anxiety states) and also the behaviour of animals who are ' experimentally neurotic '. In the case of animals the incomplete nature of the behaviour patterns is most pronounced (Davis, 1954) and Maier (1949) has drawn attention to fixated or stereotyped responses under experimental stress conditions. Kay (1954) suggested that his experimental results indicated a higher probability of instability among indecent assault delinquents than among others, although his groups were small. Clearly, there appears to be a need for therapeutic, as opposed to purely punitive, measures at least for this type of offender.

JOHN E. TONG.

REFERENCES

DAVIS, D. R. (1954). *Brit. J. Med. Psychol.*, **27**, 216.
GRANGER, G. W. (1953). *J. Ment. Sci.*, **99**, 414, 8.
KAY, B. (1954). *Brit. J. Delinq.*, **4**, No. 4, 245.
KEEHN, J. D. (1953). *J. Ment. Sci.*, **99**, 416, 410.
KLOPFER, B., and KELLEY, D. M. (1946). ' The Rorschach Technique '. London: Harrap and Co. Ltd.
MAIER, N. R. F. (1949). ' Frustration: A Study of Behaviour Without a Goal '. London: McGraw Hill.
WECHSLER, D. (1944). ' The Measurement of Adult Intelligence '. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF DELINQUENCY

University of Nottingham. Rockefeller Research 1952–54 (*privately circulated*)

This, unfortunately not yet published, study was carried out, with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation, under the direction of Professor W. J. H. Sprott of the University of Nottingham, by Miss A. P. Jephcott, M.A., and Mr. M. P. Carter, B.A., as research workers. It was intended to be, and it actually is, much more than a study of delinquency: an enquiry, as Professor Sprott puts it in his Foreword, into ' the social climate from which so many of our delinquent population come.' It is an important work which will require a full critical review when eventually available in print. The present brief and mainly factual Note can do no more than draw attention to its existence and significance. The area of study was ' Radby ', a Midland mining town of 23,000 people, mainly working class in character. The hypothesis is that ' the behaviour which the community defines as delinquent is socially conditioned and arises out of a process of social interaction and imitation, precisely as does behaviour that is not defined as delinquent '; moreover, ' that within working class areas different standards are upheld, and that the differences

between the norms of behaviour contribute towards the different rates of delinquency distribution.' An attempt was made to assess ' the main social facts, types of group relationships, modes of group activity, and social and moral climates of differing neighbourhoods.' While this is not new, the methods employed were, in part, original, and the investigation was more intensive and produced more first-hand information than has been the case in most previous studies of this kind. First, a very full description is given of the social and economic structure of ' Radby ' and the values and standards of its working people. To obtain the information required, one of the research workers (Mr. Carter) was employed at a factory for four months. With regard to delinquency, it was found to be mainly concentrated in five areas, but even within these areas there were ' white ' as well as ' bad ' streets. Samples of households in these areas were interviewed, and the technique of participant observation was also used to some extent. After a pilot survey which seemed to confirm the original hypothesis a more intensive investigation was made of two streets in one of the ' black ' areas which yielded particularly interesting comparisons, and eventually individual families within these streets were studied in detail and ranked according to a five-point scale. The results are again not entirely novel, but the picture presented is fuller and more realistic than in most previous investigations. Very little delinquency was found in ' high grade ' households and where it did happen it occurred for reasons different from those responsible for delinquency in ' low grade ' households. From this, it is concluded that preventive measures should be closely related to the particular factors which give rise to any particular type of delinquency and should concern themselves ' with the relative bases from which these differing codes derive '.

In conclusion, a searching attempt is made to assess the applicability to areas of various characteristics of preventive measures of the kind suggested by Clifford Shaw in his Area Projects. Finally, the question is raised how far Merton's well-known views and also Professor Sprott's findings in connection with his visits to Chinese prisons might be helpful in an analysis of corresponding problems of English society.

H. M.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

EDUCATION IN AN ' OPEN ' PRISON

A Brief Account of the Educational Provision at H.M. Prison, Eastchurch, Isle of Sheppey [1]

This ' open ' prison—which occupies the site and buildings of the former historic aerodrome—caters for some 300 men, comprising Stars (first offenders), trainable Ordinaries (men with one or more previous convictions) and Civil Prisoners. Men work an eight-hour day and are chiefly engaged in farming or allied pursuits, or maintenance of the extensive camp.

Two of the chief factors to be considered in planning the education programme are the variety of the men being received and the duration of their stay.

[1] I am indebted to H.M. Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article, which does not necessarily represent their views.

(*a*) *The Variety of the Men Received.* On the day after arrival at Eastchurch men are interviewed at the Education Centre, where the educational facilities are described to them and they are tested to determine their standard of education. This test also reveals the illiterates and semi-illiterates and provides data for the planning of the education programme.

The 500 men tested between 1st January, 1954, and 31st May, 1954, were graded as follows:

A. Above secondary standard of education	5
B. Average secondary education	27
C. Average elementary education	238
D. Below average elementary education	162
E. Semi-illiterate or illiterate	68
	500

(In many cases men are emotionally disturbed at the time of the test—shortly after admission—and score lower than they would normally.)

Group E is sub-divided:

(*a*) Illiterate (men who may or may not be able to write and recognize their own names, and no more)		19
(*b*) Semi-illiterate		40
(*c*) Unable to complete test:	Defective eyesight	4
	Foreign nationals	3
(*d*) Unco-operative		2
		68

The 500 men are further analysed as follows:

(*i*) *Analysis of Occupations*

Professional	10
Semi-professional or managerial	47
Clerical	52
Skilled workers	176
Unskilled workers	199
Ex-H.M. Forces	10
No occupation	6
	500

(Allowance must be made for a tendency to enhancement of status in many cases.)

(*ii*) *Analysis of Ages*

Aged 21 years and under 30	179
„ 30 „ „ „ 40	162
„ 40 „ „ „ 50	116
Over 50	43
	500

(*iii*) *Analysis of Prison Classification*

Star prisoners	312
Ordinary prisoners	80
Civil prisoners	108
	500

(*iv*) *Analysis of Leisure Interests*

Wide range of interests, or well-developed interest in one special subject	79
Limited range of interests	198
Interests exclusively related to sport	112
Professing no interests	111
	500

(*b*) *The Duration of Stay of Men.* Further difficulties in providing an adequate education programme arise from the differing lengths of stay (three weeks to eighteen months), and the shortness of the average length of stay, *e.g.*:

1954	*Jan.*	*Feb.*	*Mar.*	*April*	*May*
Average stay (months)	2·75	2·84	2·27	2·91	3·99

To cater for the short length of stay, classes are arranged in courses of two, four, six or eight weeks' duration. Each course is self-contained, and in most cases a man may not re-register for a second course in the same subject. This arrangement obviously sets a limit to the standard which may be reached in any particular subject, and makes extra demands upon the teacher.

The education programme has been actively developed for rather under two years. In a rapidly-changing population there are losses of 'goodwill' and difficulties in providing effective publicity. Improved methods of recruitment, registration and follow-up show an improvement in the number of men using the educational facilities:

1954	*Jan.*	*Feb.*	*Mar.*	*April*	*May*	*For period*
A. Average number of men at establishment	235	257	270	267	282	262·5
B. Average number enrolling for two 2-hour sessions a week	139	158	184	174	199	172
B as a percentage of A	58%	60%	68%	64%	71%	62%

1954. *Monthly Totals of Student-hours Registered (including voluntary attendance at religious services and concerts)*

Jan.	*Feb.*	*Mar.*	*April*	*May*	*Total*
3,932	4,922	5,066	5,270	5,990	25,180

Programme Details and Procedure. Subsequent to the initial testing and rough grading, the illiterates and semi-illiterates are interviewed individually in an endeavour to discover the cause of their lack of literacy. (In most cases lack of opportunity, or neglected opportunity, of regular early education is the cause; in the minority of cases is dullness a cause.) Men who are then considered teachable and who have a reasonable length of time yet to serve at the establishment are allocated to daytime instructional classes; these are of one and a half hours duration, five mornings a week. During the first few days after their arrival, all men are invited to attend the Education Information Room, where they are advised as to class vacancies and helped to compile a personal education programme. Details of this are entered in a pocket-sized folder which is the man's pass to classes.

Joining the education scheme (apart from the Illiterate classes) is voluntary, but if a man wishes to join the scheme he must undertake to attend groups for at least two two-hour sessions a week. Defaulters are followed up. An incentive to regular attendance is provided by a weekly ' Students' Concert ' to which only men who have made the necessary two attendances are admitted. The concert is provided either by the men themselves or by visiting artists.

The following activities are available (the figures in brackets indicate the number of two-hour sessions—6.15 to 8.15 p.m.—available during the week): Art (drawing, design, poster-work, lino-cutting, etc.) (1), Music Appreciation, Light (1), Music Appreciation, Classical (1), Drama (3, average), Basketry (2), Woodwork and Leatherwork (2), Embroidery, Plastercraft, Soft Toy Making (1), Farming (1), Aeronautics (1), French (1), Debating Society and Discussion Group (2), English (1), Chess (4), Country Appreciation (1), Natural History (2), Catering and Waiting (2).

It will be noted that the emphasis is upon informal education. Vocational training is not practicable, although in some cases a man is enabled to prepare himself in prison for a new sphere of employment on leaving. (Men with at least nine months to serve may be provided with a correspondence course selected from a wide range of subjects, but it is infrequently that the student's environment and disposition are found conducive to success in this medium.) In this type of teaching and in these circumstances a great deal depends upon the personal qualities of the teacher, and an unsentimental, experienced and generous-hearted teacher may convey lessons not obvious in his syllabus. In an isolated position the provision of staff is not an easy matter, but the Local Education Authority gives great help in this connection. Over 50 per cent. of the teaching hours are performed voluntarily—the Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Officer and members of the staff take classes, and sometimes prisoners teach groups very acceptably.

The accommodation for educational purposes comprises eleven ex-Service huts, some of which are divided into two, giving fifteen rooms, plus the use of three reading rooms and the library (of 1,800 books).

Special Courses. One of the most important developments during the past year has been the growth of special courses, some lasting a day, others a week.

In particular Pre-Release Courses have proved of benefit. From those men shortly due for discharge and who express a wish to attend a course, twenty-five are selected, preference being given to longer-time married men. Two rooms are prepared for the course, one as a reading and reference room and the other as a Conference Room. The syllabus is designed to provide practical answers to some of the problems facing men on their discharge—problems relating to employment, housing, finance, personal relationships, and physical, mental and spiritual health. The method of lecture and discussion is used, the local staff being augmented by outside specialists; note-taking is encouraged by a competition. The men are formed into three groups for discussion purposes, each led by a member of the staff who has previously studied the records of his men. The group appoints a secretary who records its findings. The most popular feature is an Open Forum comprising local business and professional men who for nearly two hours answer questions put by the men.

Letters received by the staff after men have left the prison—sometimes months afterwards—tell of the real help which men have received at the courses.

Conclusion. To speak of an ' education centre ' existing in an establishment of this sort is perhaps to imply a wrong approach. The whole function of the regime is educative, and a casual word by an officer to a man hoeing carrots may achieve more than a course of lectures. The Education Centre is no more than a booster pump in a circulating system.

With all that is being done in this sphere the possibilities are yet hardly visualized. From the administration's and from the prisoners' point of view it is useful that men should be agreeably occupied. But particularly in this environment it is desirable that anything which is done in the name of education should inform the intellect, reinforce the will and enthuse the spirit of these men. Experience at Eastchurch encourages the view that this sort of education is attainable.

D. R. VICKERS.

DECLINING STATISTICS—GROWING PROBLEMS [1]

Nobody whose ideas on the subject of juvenile delinquency have been derived solely from the study of popular journalism can well escape concluding that the number of juvenile offenders has been rising enormously year by year since the end of the War. Figures published by the Federal Office of Statistics, however, tell a different tale: according to these, the number of juvenile delinquents decreased by about one-fifth between the years 1948 and 1952. In 1948, 1,137 out of 100,000 juveniles of the age of criminal responsibility were sentenced to fines, imprisonment or educational treatment, whereas in 1952 the number was only 934.

[1] Translated by P. H. K. Kuenstler (Bristol) from a Note in *Deutsche Jugend*, October 1954, pp. 464–5.

Any disposition to draw from these figures over-optimistic conclusions regarding the moral improvement of the young must, however, be checked by considering not only the questionable nature of all statistics but also the special conditions prevailing in the years immediately after the war. A very few details will suffice to put matters in another light. The general decline in juvenile delinquency is mainly accounted for by the drop of about 30 per cent. in offences against property, always preponderant among juveniles; but the temptation to this kind of offence was, of course, far less in 1952 than in 1948.

Does the curve of delinquency fall when the economic curve rises? Unfortunately the correlation is not so simple as all that. The American *News Week* has recently stated that in 200 cities in the United States delinquency among young persons under eighteen has gone up by 7·9 per cent. while among adults it has risen by only 1·9 per cent. Moreover, juvenile offenders are now not so often slum children as children of the upper class—sons and daughters of ' good ' families. Similar reports come from France, where, as in Germany, juvenile delinquency has indeed returned to its ' normal ' level—normal as compared with that of the war-time and post-war years; but the much discussed film of Andre Cajottes ' Before the Deluge ' brings a calculated indictment, supported by actual data, not so much against young offenders as against their parents.

Exceptional circumstances can no longer be held responsible for juvenile delinquency. There is no ground for complacency in the fact that the curve of delinquency has dropped in countries that were directly affected by the war. Dishonesty arising from material need is easier to cure than offences which arise from an inner brutalization and inhumanity. These are discharges from deep wounds, which not even the most rosy-tinted statistics can wipe away.

CRITICAL NOTICE

THE CASE OF JOHN THOMAS STRAFFEN[1]

I. The Legal Issues

John Thomas Straffen was a high-grade mental defective in the ' feeble-minded ' group, who had been known to the Bath police ever since he returned with his family from India in 1938 and began pilfering and playing truant. He had been under the care of a Child Guidance Clinic and a Probation Officer, and in 1940 he was certified as a mental defective and sent to a residential school for defective children. Here he remained until he reached the age of sixteen in 1946. Early in 1947 he began committing petty larcenies, on one occasion he assaulted a thirteen-year-old girl, and on another occasion he strangled five chickens belonging to the father of another girl with whom he had quarrelled. At this stage he was committed to a colony for mental defectives, where he stayed some twenty months before being licensed to an agricultural hostel for defectives in July 1949. He was recalled to the colony in February 1950, but a year later he regained his liberty, being licensed to the care of his mother. At the age of twenty-one, when the certificate was reviewed, he was licensed for a further five years, but after an appeal this was reduced to a period of six months from 10th

[1] ' The Trial of John Thomas Straffen ', edited by Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Mr. Eric P. Fullbrook. (Published by William Hodge and Co. Ltd. in the ' Notable British Trials ' Series, 1954, price 15s., pp. 263, App.)

July, 1951. On 15th July he murdered a five-year-old girl, Brenda Goddard. On 8th August he murdered another girl, nine years old, by the name of Cicely Batstone. The following day he was arrested and charged with the second murder. At Taunton Assizes on 17th October, 1951, he was found unfit to plead, and was ordered to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure. He was sent to Broadmoor, whence six months later, the 29th April, 1952, he escaped.

In the brief period of four hours during which he was at liberty he contrived to entice a five-year-old girl named Linda Bowyer away from a quiet village in Berkshire, and murdered her in a copse nearby. At his trial at Winchester Assizes, before Mr. Justice Cassels and a jury, no question was raised concerning his fitness to plead, and he was found guilty and sentenced to death. His appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal was dismissed, but the Home Secretary subsequently granted a reprieve and he was sent to Wandsworth Prison.

The case raises a number of legal issues of great interest and importance. The defence set up was a denial that Straffen committed the deed, and a plea that if he did do it, he was insane. The first part of this defence raised the question of the identity of the murderer of Linda Bowyer, and the first point of law demanding comment concerns the decision of the trial judge to allow evidence of the two previous murders, which Straffen admitted, to help the prosecution establish that Straffen was responsible for the third, which he denied. There was considerable similarity between the three crimes which pointed pretty clearly to their having been committed by the same person. There was, for instance, the fact that there had been no attempt at sexual interference, no apparent motive for the crimes, and no attempt to conceal the bodies. Although it is a general rule that evidence of previous similar conduct by the prisoner is inadmissible if it is introduced merely to show that he has a criminal disposition or a propensity for committing the particular crime under consideration, it is well recognized that there is an exception where the crime carries the hall-mark of a particular criminal, and the judge has a discretion to allow the admission of such evidence to rebut a defence of accident or wrong identity. The Court of Criminal Appeal upheld the ruling of the trial judge allowing evidence to be given concerning the previous murders.

This is not the place to embark on a detailed examination of the correctness of this decision, but it may be permissible to remark that it opens the doorway wide to evidence of previous criminal conduct, and the Court of Criminal Appeal, per Slade, J., appeared to be prepared to extend the exception to the general principle not only to abnormal conduct such as sexual crime or motiveless murder, but also to cases of house-breaking and crimes of dishonesty where a question of identity arises and the crime carries the hall-mark of a particular criminal. Well may one wonder what is left of the general principle, which was described as ' the irrefragable rule '! (See G. H. Treitel, 16 M.L.R. 74, at p. 77, January 1953.)

The second legal issue raised by the case concerns the relation of mental deficiency to the test of insanity established by the M'Naghten Rules. Straffen was a feeble-minded person of the unstable type, but ranking high in the scale of intelligence of such persons. His mental age was agreed to be nine and a half years, although one medical expert considered it to be rather higher. He had clearly acquired some knowledge of legal procedure and criminology by the time

of the trial at Winchester, and could not be considered unfit to plead, as he had been at Taunton. Moreover, he had shown signs of considerable intelligence and cunning, and knew that what he had done was wrong and against the law. He showed no remorse, however, and said he had acted as he did ' to annoy the police '. The question was whether he could be brought within the defence of insanity as laid down in the M'Naghten Rules. The difficulty lay in the fact that the medical evidence did not suggest that he was suffering from mental disease or psychosis, although there was abnormal brain functioning and mental deficiency. The only real dispute between the medical witnesses concerned the second limb of the M'Naghten Rules and whether Straffen knew that what he was doing was wrong. It was conceded that he knew the nature and quality of his act, but it was contended that by virtue of his limited intelligence he was incapable of appreciating fully how wrong his conduct really was. He could not form a rational judgment concerning his conduct. This is almost exactly the test which the Australian High Court recently accepted in *Stapleton* v. *The Queen* [2] in preference to the test of knowledge that the act was against the law, which the English Court of Criminal Appeal adopted in *R.* v. *Windle*.[3] The latter ruling was given before Straffen's case, and the trial judge followed it in his direction to the jury. The question was, he said, whether Straffen knew it was against the law to kill Linda Bowyer. The interesting thing is that so much latitude was given to the medical witnesses to develop their argument, which was totally irrelevant if ' wrong ' means ' illegal '. Dare we hope that similar indulgence will be shown in future, in the light of the clear ruling in *R.* v. *Windle*? It has already been pointed out in this *Journal* that that decision is open to serious criticism.[4]

It was almost inevitable that in view of the state of the law the jury should find Straffen guilty and sane and not guilty but insane. The result demonstrates the inadequacy of the M'Naghten Rules in a most convincing way. The solution lies either in abolishing them entirely and leaving the question to the jury without any guiding rules, as the majority of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment suggest, or in widening the existing rules to cover mental deficiency as well as mental disease, and to include lack of control as well as lack of knowledge of the nature or wrongfulness of the act, which is what the minority prefer.

There is a third legal point of great importance arising. Straffen's case was really a case of diminished responsibility. English law makes no provision for this to be recognized, save in relation to provocation. Under Scottish law, by virtue of a judicial innovation which is not universally approved, but of long standing, there may be a verdict of culpable homicide, leading to a sentence which is usually a fixed term of years but may be for life, where it is established that the prisoner ' suffered from mental weakness or abnormality bordering on insanity to such an extent that his responsibility was substantially diminished '.[5] The Royal Commission seriously considered the desirability of extending the doctrine of diminished responsibility to England and Wales, being obviously much impressed by its possibilities. It seemed that they only decided against it when they had resolved to adopt their ill-fated jury discretion proposal as a means

[2] (1952) 86 C.L.R. 358.
[3] (1952) 2 All E.R. 1.
[4] Vol. IV, No. 2, October 1953, p. 128, and Vol. V, No. 1, July 1954, p. 72.
[5] ' Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, 1949–1953 ', Cmd. 8932, § 378, p. 131.

whereby extenuating circumstances, including diminished responsibility, might be taken into account in the last stages of a trial. There is much force in the suggestion made by the learned editors of this book about the Straffen case that if the jury discretion proposal is rejected, further consideration should be given to the question of diminished responsibility. At present in English law it is a case of all or nothing, one is either fully responsible or insane. Surely, as the B.M.A. argued before the Commission, there must be room for states of mind in between these two poles?

J. E. Hall Williams.

II. The Psychiatric Issues

There is often a tendency in medicine for diagnosis to become an end in itself. In the field of mental deficiency there is little scope for specific therapy and the doctor may feel that he has finished with the matter, once he has made the diagnosis. The medical expert may approach this duty in the same way that he would any other form of medical diagnosis, using for the purpose, in place of the usual signs and symptoms, certain rules of thumb, or certain standardized tests, according to his taste and training. He may occasionally be assisted by a psychologist but usually arrives at his decision alone, so providing one of the medical certificates which constitute the main evidence in the legal process of ' certification '.

Until recent years the term ' mental deficiency ' did not find wide acceptance but text-books such as that of Ireland (1877) were written about idiots and imbeciles. A relatively small number of people so designated were confined in lunatic asylums and workhouses. Since the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913 there has been a growing trend to add to this limited group of grossly defective individuals a much more numerous and less easily defined category of the ' feeble-minded ' and the ' morally defective ', though the latter term has in fact been little used. Although certifying medical practitioners are reluctant to use the term ' moral defect ', many accept the notion of ' inherent incapacity for development of moral sense ' (Tredgold, 1952) as a possible cause of incomplete or arrested development of the mind, and hence of feeble-mindedness. If this tendency were taken to its logical conclusion the term ' mental defect ' might include the whole of psychiatry. A recent investigation (Tizard and O'Connor, 1952) suggests that young adults confined in institutions as feeble-minded have a mean ' intelligence quotient ' of over 70, *i.e.*, half of them are not defective in terms of intellectual capacity. A survey by the same authors (1954) suggested that of these feeble-minded patients only a minority have been guilty of offences and these most often of a trivial character.

In the case of idiots and imbeciles it has been shown (Crome, 1954) that the vast majority of these have gross anatomical changes in the brain. Once established, these changes are, in the present state of our knowledge, irreversible. Hence treatment and training must be ameliorative rather than specific, designed to make the best use of such capacity as these patients have, rather than to achieve a radical cure.

The position of the ' feeble-minded ' is very different. They are selected from a large section of the general population by a somewhat arbitrary procedure and they do not differ sharply from the rest of the population. The designation ' mental defective ' is in each case very much a matter of opinion. Even if we

consider for a moment only the criterion of limitation of intellectual capacity as assessed by some standardized test, we see that the proportion of the population who might be classed as mentally defective, should they, for example, appear before a court charged with some offence, is very high. Taking Wechsler's (1944) estimate of the population of the U.S.A. some 9 per cent. are defective or borderline defective in intelligence. If, moreover, we take into consideration the much wider concept of deficiency mentioned above and also all the hazards concerned with choice of examiner, circumstances of examination and the like, it will be seen that there might be surprisingly few people who, in a given situation, may not be classed as mentally defective.

In the case of John Thomas Straffen the medical evidence suggested that he was a mental defective, though not an idiot or an imbecile, but in the much wider and highly elastic sense of the term mentioned above. However, the medical witnesses did much more than make the suggestion that he was mentally defective. At his first trial he was found on medical evidence of mental defect unfit to plead in answer to the charge of the murder of two little girls and he was sent to Broadmoor. At the second trial his defending counsel said that as a mental defective he was not fit to give evidence. In addition, Straffen's lack of ' moral sense ' was put forward as part of this ' mental defect ' in the broad meaning of the term used above. Hence the impression may be left after reading Dr. Fairfield's and Mr. Fullbrook's book that there are certain people, who may be classed as mental defectives, who lack moral sense and who are liable to commit serious crimes. A further and much more regrettable impression may be created, namely that mental defectives in general are dangerous people, perhaps even more so than the insane.

Idiots and imbeciles rarely commit offences since they are usually kept under supervision and also because they lack initiative and strength of purpose. Serious offences are also rare amongst those who are genuinely feeble-minded in the sense of having a well-established and marked limitation of mental capacity. Those ' mental defectives ' who do commit serious offences usually prove on detailed examination with appropriate methods to have normal intelligence. There is no difference in essence between the case of Straffen and that of Heath. Whether a person be a genius, average or feeble-minded he lives in the same society and is shaped by common forces. If he murders somebody it is not because of his particular intelligence quotient. Dostoevsky might have argued for a murderer with an I.Q. of 160 that his thought processes were qualitatively different and that he should not be judged by the standards of ordinary people.

In fact the ' feeble-minded ', given reasonable opportunity for social development, are somewhat less prone than the rest of the population to get into mischief which is really serious. It is no service to the feeble-minded and to the scientific study of delinquency to include in the numerous category of the merely dull, the much smaller number of the grossly psychopathic who are liable to commit serious crimes. It is to be hoped that this distinction will be made clear in any new legislation which is contemplated. It is temptingly easy to blame anti-social behaviour on to some inborn structural defect in the brain but the material in the case of John Thomas Straffen offers no basis for such a view. Unfortunately, the published evidence gives so little information about his early childhood that it is not possible even to guess at the real reason for his perversion.

BRIAN H. KIRMAN.

REFERENCES

CROME, L. (1954). *J. Ment. Sci.*, **100**, 421.
IRELAND, W. W. (1877). ' On Idiocy and Imbecility '. London.
O'CONNOR, N., and TIZARD, J. (1954). *Brit. Med. J.*, *i*, 16.
TIZARD, T., and O'CONNOR, N. (1952). *Lancet*, *ii*, 620.
TREDGOLD, A. F. (1952). ' Mental Deficiency '. London. P. 329.
WECHSLER, D. (1944). ' Measurement of Adult Intelligence '. Baltimore. P. 40.

III. THE CRIMINOLOGICAL ISSUES

The two preceding comments show that occasionally and, in view of certain popular preconceptions, perhaps surprisingly, the psychiatric expert may be less favourably disposed towards a plea of insanity than the criminal lawyer. It may be left to the reader to decide for himself which of our two contributors may more accurately reflect the mood prevailing in his profession with regard to the issues raised by the Straffen case.

While Dr. Kirman's view that the delinquency rate of mental defectives is not higher, or even lower, than that of mentally normal persons is borne out by Miss Woodward's survey of the literature in this issue, it should not be overlooked that he adds the important qualification ' given reasonable opportunity for social development '. It would be interesting to know in how many cases such opportunities are in fact open to mental defectives, even high-grades of the Straffen type. As far as murder is concerned, Dr. Kirman's statement that really serious crime is rare among mental defectives is confirmed, for example, by Dr. K. O. Milner.[6] Here, as in some other aspects, the Straffen case is exceptional.

Perhaps one of the most striking features of this case is the length and frequency of Straffen's contacts with various supervisory agencies, contacts which may make the average observer wonder why it was not possible to predict this boy's subsequent development in time to prevent at least the commission of his first murder. Similar questions were asked some years ago in the case of Heath who had spent many years in reformatory institutions for other offences before proceeding to murder. In Straffen's case the list of such contacts is particularly impressive: known to police and referred to Child Guidance Clinic at age of eight; placed on probation at nine; referred to Child Guidance Clinic, certified mentally deficient and sent to a Residential School for M.D. children at age of ten, where he remained till sixteen; again before the Court and committed to M.D. Colony at seventeen; licensed to Hostel, but recalled to Colony at age of twenty. In spite of the fact that Straffen was in such frequent contact with supervising agencies of one sort or another, the editors of the present volume are forced to confess that they had ' to retire baffled for lack of sufficient evidence ' (p. 29). In particular, except for the scanty information provided by Straffen's mother, hardly anything seems to have been known at the trial about his early childhood; indeed, he appeared to have been ' an ordinary, healthy little boy, except that he spoke late and developed a speech defect which he retained for many years ' (p. 2). No evidence was given by any member of the staff of the Residential School where he had been from the age of ten to sixteen. Surely, they—described as they are in the Introduction as ' highly trained in the needs of retarded children and

advised by educational psychologists and psychiatrists '—should have been in a position to say something of interest and to provide some clues of predictive value about a boy who had been under their supervision for so long. Instead, we are treated at the trial to lengthy but rather unhelpful discussions on the meaning of ' wrong ' in the M'Naghten Rules. However, the psychiatric evidence shows at least that the E.E.G. had ' indicated a severe and widespread disorganization of those parts of the brain which are thought to control the higher mental processes ' (Dr. Leitch, p. 167), and Dr. Munro thought it likely that this brain damage was the result of an infection acquired at about the age of three (p. 205) and that such brain damage was likely to produce ' impulsive, aggressive, or even violent behaviour ' (p. 205).

The problem before us is therefore whether, if the psychiatric evidence on Straffen's mental condition and predisposition put before the Court at the trial had in fact been available some four or five years before, together with fuller information on his conduct and family history, this might have changed the view of the experts at the M.D. Colony that he was ' not of violent or dangerous propensities ' (p. 6) and that he could safely be licensed. This might be one of the aspects of the Straffen case which seem to be in need of further study. We can hardly blame any of the existing prediction tables if their predictive factors do not seem to be of much value here. Statistical mass techniques are, in the first place, intended to give first-aid in the ordinary run of cases by helping to spot individuals in need of special attention. The second stage in the predictive process, *i.e.*, assisting those to whose care such individuals have already been committed to recognize exceptionally difficult and dangerous cases, will remain primarily the task of highly intensive individual techniques.

A few words may be said in conclusion on Straffen's motives as they emerge from this book. Two factors seem to be outstanding: first, his hatred of the police whose control he strongly resented and whom he blamed for his committals to institutions and for his dismissal from one of his jobs. In connection with this there is a hint that the press reports of the unsolved Windsor case of child murder had stimulated him because this kind of crime seemed to give the greatest possible amount of trouble to the police. Secondly, there is the sexual motive. The editors of the present book are inclined to regard it as doubtful because Straffen was never a menace to little girls, ' except when he had a grievance to revenge ' (p. 29). One witness at the trial reported that Straffen himself had claimed to have committed a number of sexual offences, but that this had not been established (p. 114). However this may be, the mere fact that he did not interfere with his victims sexually does in no way prove the absence of sexual motives; they may well have been the dominating ones and only reinforced, or perhaps rationalized, by his hatred of the police. This may well be another aspect of the case to which further attention might be given.

H. M.

REVIEWS

CRIMINALS AND THE COMMUNITY. Four Lectures in Criminology by Professor Albert Morris. (University of Melbourne. 1954. Pp. 57. 6s.)

These lectures were delivered by Professor Morris, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Boston University in the University of Melbourne; Professor Morris was then attached to the new Department of Criminology as visiting Fulbright Professor, and the lectures were given under the auspices of the University Extension Committee.

In these circumstances, Professor Morris had to face the task that is familiar to so many of us of overcoming the scepticism of the legal profession and the emotional resistances of the ' commonsense man ', both of which make it so difficult to present the realities of the problem of crime and the criminal to a lay audience. In doing so, he followed well-beaten tracks for most of the way, only deviating from them in so far as he included one or two examples of enlightened methods of treatment that have been developed in the United States. He thus seems to have assumed either a blank ignorance of the subject-matter of his lectures in his audience, or a degree of emotional resistance or prejudice that made it impossible for him to ' open up '.

The most interesting point in the lectures arose when Professor Morris dealt with Powers and Witmer's ' Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency '. The commonsense man and the lawyer alike might be expected to conclude from a popular presentation of the results of this experiment that ' probation is bunk '. Professor Morris, on the other hand, used the material to demonstrate that it is necessary, if we wish to prevent crime, ' to make much more specific and refined identifications of the kinds of behaviour we want to deal with and then proceed, one by one, to find out what is the source of each particular kind of delinquency or crime—and then attempt to find remedies for it.' If Professor Morris has succeeded in the task he has thus set for himself, the general level of sophistication in Melbourne about crime and the criminal will have been very greatly raised. But it is unfortunate that we are left in doubt by the Foreword to these lectures, written by the Chairman of the Melbourne Department of Criminology, a Judge of the Supreme Court, as to the extent to which he did so.

T. S. SIMEY.

DIE GESCHICHTE DER ABSCHAFFUNG DER TODESSTRAFE IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND. By Dr. Bernhard Düsing. With a Foreword by the Federal Minister of Justice, Dr. Thomas Dehler. (Bollwerk-Verlag Offenbach/Main. 1952. Pp. 342.)

This ' History of the Abolition of Capital Punishment in the German Federal Republic ' is a most valuable account of the century-old struggle against the death penalty in Germany, beginning with the famous debates and resolutions of the National Assembly in the Frankfurter Paulskirche and the Prussian Constitutional Assembly of 1848 and leading, for the first time, to actual abolition in the Federal Constitution of 1949. Written by an abolitionist, it gives a detailed and carefully documented survey of the arguments used by both friends and opponents during the deliberations of the various German Parliaments over a period of a hundred years. For this reason, and also on account of its valuable comparative material, especially regarding countries such as Austria, it is to be

regretted that this book (a shortened English version of which might be useful) was not available in time for the deliberations of the Royal Commission.

The abolition of Capital Punishment in Germany has been the result of much hard work and determined effort on the part of generations of practical ideologists. In both the Paulskirche and Prussian Assemblies there were already substantial majorities for abolition and, as Kohlrausch rightly remarked in his article on the subject in the *Handwörterbuch der Kriminologie*, in particular the speeches made in the Paulskirche are still worth reading and a good substitute for the study of the literature of a century. Nevertheless, their efforts, as the whole of the 1848 Revolution, were eventually defeated by the forces of reaction. Then, as to-day, the supporters of Capital Punishment relied largely on unsubstaniated references to public opinion, but already then it was stressed by penologists such as the Berlin professor Berner that in such matters the ill-informed views of the public should not be the only guide of an enlightened legislator and that after abolition the public might be more easily converted (pp. 61, 77, *et passim*). One of the most interesting features of the book is the information it contains on the party affiliations and occupational distribution of both abolitionists and anti-abolitionists in the various parliamentary and other debates on the subject and the changes which have occurred since 1848. A comparison with corresponding data in this country might be illuminating.

Special mention should be made of Chapter XII in which the outrageous use made by the Hitler regime of the death penalty is frankly and objectively described with a wealth of detail. The statistical material is, naturally, incomplete as, at least after 1936, only fractions of the actual death sentences and executions were recorded (pp. 212, 215). Not without reason, the author takes the view that these Nazi outrages explain, more than anything else, the force of the abolition movement in Germany after 1945. However, although the author is able to show convincingly that there has been a decline in the German murder rate between 1949 and the publication of his book (pp. 311 *et seq.*, 327), he has to admit that the supporters of Capital Punishment cannot yet be regarded as finally silenced. In fact, moves have been made more than once in recent years in favour of reintroduction but as they require a two-thirds majority in the Bundestag they are unlikely to succeed.

H. M.

Growing Up in the City. By John Barron Mays. (University Press of Liverpool. 1954. Pp. 168. 17s. 6d.)

Mr. Mays now gives us the complete work, of which the study of the delinquent attitudes and experiences of eighty adolescent boys, which has already appeared in this *Journal*, is the kernel. His study of the attitudes of the police towards delinquents appears as an appendix. There is an introductory chapter, which refers to a relevant research on the subject, and a long description of the neighbourhood. The author also considers and criticises the work of existing agencies in combating delinquency, and makes some suggestions for improvement.

The whole provides an excellent, though hardly novel, picture of life in the slum and the great difficulties faced by those who are enterprising enough to attempt to solve its problems. The descriptive material leans occasionally towards journalism, and criticism and description tend to be mixed up together. The book could, in fact, do with some pruning in order to make its impact greater. In particular, the introductory chapter summarises a number of research findings

with only a very general thread of relevance. In this chapter also the author introduces a rather unusual usage of the terms ' delinquent ' and ' criminal ' to mean, apparently, ' occasional ' offenders from environmental causes, and recidivists due to psychological maladjustment; this surely requires more discussion than it is given.

We cannot, however, be reminded too often of the deadening impact of slum conditions upon any attempt to live the full life. Had Mr. Mays done this alone, it would have been sufficient justification for his work, but he goes further. Life in the slum, he points out, has different patterns from life in ' respectable ' society. The word ' family ' itself has a different meaning in this context: the relations between its members, its interests and recreations, its force as a carrier of culture, all have their own indigenous pattern. Thus, as Professor Titmuss says in his preface, delinquent behaviour ' is for the majority of these boys not so much a manifestation of individual maladjustment but is part of the total process of adjustment to a sub-culture in conflict with the culture of society as a whole.' How far is it true, one wonders, that slum culture is merely an intensification of working-class patterns of living, and how far is our criminal law based upon middle-class culture concepts?

The book concludes with a number of recommendations for improvement in the working of the social services, among them, local conferences of social workers, who might deal with delinquents without initial reference to the court, and special school welfare officers to whom teachers might refer cases. While there are some useful ideas in this section, there is little discussion of the pros and cons of the suggestions made, and one cannot feel that Mr. Mays has got to the bottom of the difficult problem of how best to use social work resources in a slum area. We have heard suggestions of the kind made here before, but somehow they are rarely put into action. What is it in the structure of the social services and the nature of teachers and social workers which prevents this? There would no doubt be need for discretion in framing an answer to this question, since Mr. Mays has to continue working in close co-operation with social workers in the area, but he does not really face up to the problem. The endemic delinquency of the slum is only one facet of a considerable social problem which needs a co-ordinated social policy at all levels if it is to be tackled successfully. Why this does not exist is a study in itself.

Margaret Simey describes how, a hundred years ago, ' missionaries ' were sent into the Liverpool slums as if to a primitive jungle. The slum is not now quite such a foreign shore as it was then, but we are still very ignorant of its ways. It is to be hoped that Mr. Mays' book will encourage modern academic ' missionaries ' to study more intensively the life of the slum, and working-class life in general.

A. G. Rose.

Break Down the Walls. By John Bartlow Martin. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1955. Pp. 273. 15s.)

The author is described as ' America's Ace Crime Reporter ' and the first part of his book is taken up by an account, in the detail usually reserved for a major battle, of the riot in 1952 at Jackson, the United States' largest prison.

Jackson was overcrowded with a mixed herd of some 6,000 prisoners, first offenders and men with life sentences (one man had been there since 1907), the mad and the sane, the old and the young. Its discipline was both harsh and lax.

Many of the men had procured knives, sledge hammers and picks. The punishment for even small offences was solitary confinement in cells, some of which were absolutely without light of any kind, for periods up to a month.

It was in the grim punishment block which housed also the mental ward that the riot first broke out. It was started by a group of mentally disturbed men. But the whole place was ready to flare up and almost immediately was in an uproar of destruction. Yet the prison was considered something of a model, its fittings and furniture positively luxurious by our standards and its food marvellous. When the present writer visited it in 1943, a great concession to war-time economy was being made ; ' no meat ' was to be served, but hundreds of dozens of eggs were being cooked to be eaten with ham.

The distinguishing feature of the place was an incredible complacency on the part of its management. The huge number of prisoners seemed as much a subject for pride as its hundreds of cattle and its production of tons of butter. This rosy view was expressed in a vast ' mural ' painting depicting the various amenities of prison life with an inscription to the effect that no one need wish to leave its precincts. Yet even then the place was riddled with injustices and scandals and grave trouble was brewing.

The main theme of Mr. Martin's book is just this: that no amount of improved physical conditions can make of a maximum security prison a place for training of character. This thesis, and the very practical and moderate proposals which it supports, will hardly be as ' explosive ' as is claimed for it amongst English students of delinquency. In fact, in this country the book might almost have a soothing effect. The contemplation of other people's misdeeds is not a very salutary occupation, and there is danger that English readers may sink into a slough of self-satisfaction over our smaller problems—but the challenge is still there: for us too the aim must be the eventual abolition of prisons as they are to-day. With Mr. Martin's plea for more scientific investigation into the cause of crime (he urges the foundation of a special institute for the purpose) all readers of this journal will be in hearty agreement.

S. M. Fry.

Deprived Children. By Hilda Lewis. (London: Oxford University Press for the Nuffield Foundation. 1954. Pp. 156. 9s. 6d.)

This monograph is the result of the Mersham Experiment in the reception, investigation and disposal of deprived children. Miss Rendel, of the now famous Caldecott Community, long ago realized how haphazard was the method of handling deprived children who were ultimately to find their way to foster homes or approved schools. Dr. Hilda Lewis, acknowledging the valuable pioneer work of Miss Rendel, was appointed psychiatrist to this pilot study.

Seven hundred Kent children became the subject-matter of this comprehensive and extremely careful enquiry which comprises a scrupulous social survey of the families involved, their status, social and economic, in terms of stability, housing economy, fertility and intimate family structure. Patterns of behaviour are defined in terms of age, intelligence level, pediatric factors and emotional dispositional factors. Furthermore, the author and her team attempted to assess the influence of family relationships and environmental impacts in provoking behaviour responses observed. In this regard the emotional relationships of parent and child were considered in great detail prior to admission, so that the child's behaviour during the period of reception could be causally related. In recent

years the consequence of rejection and separation have received much attention and perhaps too rigid character and behaviour disorders have been correlated with these alleged causes. It is therefore particularly welcome that this issue is raised again in an enquiry which reviews the problem from a new angle and with careful statistical checks.

This research calls for a more detailed critical appraisal than can be given here but it deserves most careful study particularly by those who, in studying delinquent behaviour, are obliged to view each case in terms of its social and individual factors. E. M.

THE CLINICAL INTERVIEW. Vol. I. DIAGNOSIS. A Method of Teaching Associative Exploration. By Felix Deutsch and William F. Murphey. (New York: International Universities Press Inc. 1955. Pp. 613. $10.00.)

One of the authors informs us that this book had its conception as far back as 1921 as the result of a discussion by Freud on 'Psycho-analysis and Organic Illness'. The chapters in this book in consequence deal with psychosomatic cases and the way in which they are approached in the initial encounter between patient and physician. The prime motive was to acquaint students with the associative method of enquiry into the patient's attitude at the first meeting. The approach is to illustrate how cures are followed up and the way in which at this stage at least limited goal pursuits are followed up, to define the pattern of history, the significance of symptoms in terms of defences disclosed, and the strength of the ego in meeting life-furthering processes in general. The question-answer details of this interview are given in full and a diagrammatic picture is displayed of the main associative trends. The result is not very illuminating and it is difficult to see how a novice can make much of the procedure without some initial acquaintance with psycho-analytic doctrine and/or a didactic analysis. The book is unnecessarily long in proportion to what it yields and each chapter has a film-like sub-title which goes ill with a serious treatise. E. M.

THE INITIAL INTERVIEW IN PSYCHIATRIC PRACTICE. By Merton Gill, Richard Gill Newman, Fred. C. Redlich. (New York: International University Press Inc. 1954. Pp. 423. $6. Records $4.60.)

The problem of interviewing has engaged psychologists for many years and in the field of industrial psychology and personnel selection it is a matter of great moment.

As medicine has become more humanistic the first encounter of patient and physician becomes a matter of diagnostic import. Merely to elicit time distributed facts leaves the personality largely out of account and if this antiquated medical approach is used unchanged in psychiatry the results can be disastrous for diagnosis and certainly for treatment.

As the authors concede, the interview with an unqualified psychotic may mean little by way of personal contact beyond gleaning data for decisions regarding hospitalization and subsequent physical treatment. There is now a strong movement in the direction of changing the initial (and vital) interview from a diagnostic fact-finding procedure to a diagnostic evaluation of an interpersonal relationship. Formal interviewing diverts attention from the stress and tension of interpersonal relations, and the associative anamnesis is recommended as disclosing more of the affected personality than does a rigid if orderly questionnaire. Using a free associative attitude allows for minimal activity and great flexibility in planning an interview. The physician's prestige is not given too great a prominence and the

patients, particularly the neurotic and the character disturbed, are given freedom to expose their complaints, their life attitude, their ego strength and their capacity for continued therapy under the physician of the first interview or his delegated colleague. For the diagnosis of delinquency the first interview is vital, for in the socially disturbed person resentment spills over into the interview because he is only facultatively a co-operative subject.

For teaching purposes the first encounter is of first importance. Here the novice learns much either by himself or by watching or listening in to others. The recent techniques of tape recordings and one-way observation windows come in for serious consideration. Indeed, what are the ethics of recording and observing? This volume takes up all these issues; gives several novel interviews verbatim and even supplies long-playing records (at a price). Obviously the technique of interviewing is entering a scientific and exciting phase. E. M.

THE ROOTS OF CRIME. Edited by Sir Norwood East. (London: Butterworth and Co. 1954. Pp. 181. 30s.)

This collection of six essays constitutes a worthy memorial to the late Sir Norwood East, who not only edited the book but also contributed to it a useful survey of legal and medical advances in criminology. This preliminary survey is followed by an outline of the psychiatric approach to the offender by Dr. Desmond Curran which will be of service to non-medical workers in delinquency or even to those psychiatrists who have little first-hand acquaintance with delinquents. Two excellent clinical studies follow, one by Dr. Peter Scott which includes, amongst a diversity of subjects, an original psychiatric account of the 'spiv', and the other by Dr. John Mackwood on remedial and educational psychotherapy during penal detention. The book ends with a survey of the rôle of probation by W. Clifford, and a discussion of the uses of psychiatry in the diagnosis and treatment of crime written from the point of view of a Metropolitan magistrate, Mr. Frank Powell.

It is not to be expected that the approaches of all the contributors will be equally deep; indeed, it might well be suggested that the title of the book is itself misleading, since most of the workers are at pains to point out how difficult it is to uncover the tap-roots of crime. But in spite of a least common multiple of superficiality, inevitable when writers of widely varying psychiatric orientation get together, the book should be in the possession of all who are concerned with delinquency of whatever sort and in whatever circumstances. It might well be made compulsory reading for those officers of the law who hold psychiatry either in too low or too high esteem. E. G.

SOME YOUNG PEOPLE. Compiled by Pearl Jephcott. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1954. Pp. 156. 12s. 6d.)

Very few young persons who appear before the Juvenile Courts are active members of any youth organizations, although most of them at some time have joined and left at least one such organization. From this it may be deduced that those who do not belong to one are thereby helped not to get into trouble; but it can also be inferred that no youth organization is able to hold the type of boy or girl who is likely to come before the Court.

This book records the findings of an enquiry by three teams, sponsored by King George's Jubilee Trust and carried out in London, Nottingham and Oxfordshire, as to 'why a larger proportion of adolescents do not belong to youth

organizations and why so many who do join, soon leave.' The conclusions were very largely what were to be expected—lack of good adult leadership, inadequate premises and equipment, and lack of initiative in providing a sufficient number of interesting and enterprising activities on the part of the twenty-four national youth organizations enumerated.

On the other hand, once they have left school, there is an alarming apathy on the part of young people towards any desire for further education and a lust for commercialized ' pleasures ' in contrast to a desire for inner contentment and ' happiness ', which no money can buy. Some of them have interests which do not require the society of others for their enjoyment, such as, for example, bird-watching or fishing or racing pigeons, but so many of them are content to waste the opportunities which exist to-day as never before for widening their outlook and for providing constructive activities for their leisure.

The book loses its value because it does not clearly differentiate between the needs and interests of adolescent boys and those of girls of the same age. What the girls are looking for and what the boys want are so utterly different. The girl is seeking to find a husband; the boy of the same age is not in the least interested in finding a wife. No clear conclusions can possibly be arrived at regarding what kind of organizations can satisfy equally the two sexes who have such very different goals. The enquiry would have been of far greater usefulness, if it had concentrated on boys or on girls, but not on both, mixed up as they are to such a degree that justice is done to neither sex.

What is common to both boys and girls is ' the poor quality of the youngsters' leisure; . . . so many of these physically healthy boys and girls never approach the exaltation that this stage of life is capable of producing. Too few even indicate that they find the world is an exciting place and theirs to command.' So many just idle away their leisure.

Only one-third of the whole adolescent population belong to any youth organization at all—half the boys and a quarter of the girls. Those who do not belong are the ones who most need to belong—the less intelligent, the emotionally unstable or those from the most indifferently run homes. ' They had played on doorsteps and gutters as toddlers because they were a nuisance inside their over-crowded homes . . . and now that they were in their teens, they had not the discipline that is essential in order to be a member of any worthwhile society.'

The recommendations are: that youth officers rather than employment officers should be responsible for suggesting the most suitable organization for each individual on leaving school and for introducing him to it; the provision of more open spaces for unorganized play; opening workshops where a boy, on payment, can go and make whatever he likes and when he likes; encouraging better reading material at a cheaper price.

The most valuable part of the enquiry is that it has presented a depressing picture of so many who waste the precious years of adolescence and who could still be transformed by adults who are willing to seek them out and share their own leisure with them. The response to such friendship is very likely to save them from becoming selfish disinterested adults and to enable them to grow into men and women with a sense of social responsibility and with an eager desire to be of service and to enjoy the fulness of life.

Miss Jephcott always presents the problems of adolescents in a vivid and interesting way.

SIR BASIL HENRIQUES.

THE HANDICAPPED CHILD. Letters to Parents. By Dr. Karl König. (London: New Knowledge Books. Pp. 19. 1s. 6d.)

The mother of a mongol child, the grandmother of an autistic child, and the parents of a spastic are given a kindly letter of advice and encouragement from Dr. König, who is a distinguished follower of Rudolph Steiner, responsible for the conduct of a residential establishment for defective children. He shows how much can be done for the apparently hopeless handicapped child by an attitude of love and optimism.

E. M.

A HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION. By George Ryley Scott. (London: Torchstream Books. Revised edition. 1954. Pp. 295. 42s.)

Those who, earlier in the century, derived sexual instruction from or whetted their pubescent and adolescent curiosity on the works of Havelock Ellis, the novels of Tobias Smollett, and the more aphrodisiac passages of the Authorized Version, will find this volume somewhat nostalgic. First published in 1936, it is now reprinted in a revised, illustrated, limited and numbered edition, and is comprised of three parts dealing respectively with the ' Causes of Prostitution ', the ' History of Prostitution ' and ' Prostitution To-day '. It is, in fact, a typical ' sexological ' treatise and exhibits all the virtues and defects of the classical sexological method. For, despite some over-writing and a tendency to over-dogmatic generalization, it gives, in its historical part, a temperate, dispassionate and erudite account of the subject, dealing consecutively with prostitution among savage and primitive races, religious prostitution, prostitution in Biblical times, and its development under civilization in the United Kingdom, the United States and in oriental countries. Under the section on ' Prostitution Today ' it discusses in an equally temperate fashion such matters as prostitution and venereal disease, male prostitution, the law and prostitution, and the case against regulation; and in the section on ' Causes ' it shows an almost complete lack of interest in or even awareness of modern psychological approaches to the subject. It is indeed unfortunate that the author should have chosen to start with a discussion of causes with which he is not fully cognisant or that he should have permitted himself to express in this section so many *ex-cathedra* pronouncements (as, for example, in the passages dealing with mental retardation); the more so that in the historical section he has avoided the common sexological error of over-loading his text with references, and has provided a convenient summary of the main historical facts. Even so, it is to be observed that many of the conclusions drawn from the facts would no longer pass muster as scientifically substantiated. Moreover, a great deal of historical material on this subject, although interesting enough, must be subjected to interpretation in the light of more detailed knowledge. In short, we are now entitled to expect that sexology should submit itself to modern sociological disciplines. Despite these flaws it is a good book of its kind and a convenient source of factual information for students whose knowledge of the history of prostitution is derived from hearsay. The relation of prostitution to crime is briefly and inadequately touched on; but no doubt the author felt that this aspect of the subject did not come within his terms of reference. In which case, of course, he should have confined his attention to the subject indicated in the title.

E. G.

SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE HUMAN FEMALE. By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin and Paul H. Gebhard. (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Ltd. 1953. Pp. 842. 50s.)

This comprehensive study follows closely in method the already well-known study of the male. Again the chairman of the Committee of Management of this research repeats that Freud and Kinsey are not compared but that the latter approaches the phenonema of sex in a more objective and scientific light. In a sense this accent on objectivity may be considered, because it is a tacit admission that the subjective aspects of sex experience are either ignored or are regarded as lying outside the province of the observers. As a collection of biological and socio-biological data this and its companion volume will stand for many years as a great source book of data and of simple correlations; and for these data psychiatrists should be thankful, for it gives them some idea as to frequency of phenomena in an important contemporary population. For example, age incidence of practices, intelligence levels, social class and religious affiliations are all taken into account.

Especially to students of criminology and delinquency it is of grave import to get the size of sexual practices which can be the source of criminal action. There is a general impression which this volume leaves on the reader that the authors regard the religious embargo on all but ' limited ' sexual activity as the source of the non-scientific view of sex which still appertains to-day.

This volume will receive and deserves great attention and one hopes it will also receive at the hands of experts in statistics some technical criticism. Psychiatrists will accept much of this biological data, but they will hold the view that it only tells part of the story of sex and its vicissitudes.

E. M.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD. Vol. IX. (New York: International Universities Press. 1954. Pp. 369. $7.50.)

The editors of this Annual continue to produce selections of papers on the theory and practice of child psychology which, although written primarily for psycho-analysts, can in many instances be read with profit by all whose work concerns the upbringing, education and psychological treatment of children. This particular volume contains little of direct interest to the delinquency worker, who may also find himself a little at sea amongst the theoretical papers. Amongst those of particular interest to him are the following: ' Some Observations on Mothers of Children with Intellectual Inhibitions ' (Hellman), ' Techniques of Child Therapy ' (Buxbaum), ' Observations on the Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children ' (Alpert) and ' Observations on the Psychology of Borderline and Psychotic Children ' (Ekstein and Wallerstein). A library book, but one worth dipping into.

E. G.

THE STORY OF THE WORLD'S POLICE. By Richard Harrison. (London: Phœnix House Ltd. Pp. 184. 12s. 6d.)

This book is, as the dust-jacket tells us, ' written specially for young people '. It would, therefore, be unfair to review it as a serious contribution to our knowledge of law enforcement, for, viewed from that standard, it offers little of value. It is superficial, without theme or balance, and scarcely even fulfils its title—nearly two-thirds of the book are devoted to the police of the U.K. (mainly London); the Commonwealth and U.S.A. take half the remainder; while the rest

of the world—including western Europe, where police have operated for over a thousand years—is dismissed in a bare twenty pages.

But that, of course, is not the point. The book deserves to be judged in terms of its intentions. It is written for *children*. In that light it is quite effective. It establishes, for instance, in the first page, the important proposition that the police in this country are concerned only with the prevention of crime, and the bringing to justice of those who break the law; they are not concerned with what happens to the lawbreaker after he has been brought to Court. Although this thesis overlooks the significant development since 1948 of the police-run attendance centre, it is fundamentally true, and a fact that responsible citizens—young or old—would do well to remember.

The book then goes on to give quite an accurate picture of the various techniques by which the police carry out this job of tracing the lawbreaker. The facts are presented clearly and without sensationalism, and although the juvenile reader might think that the police are engaged principally in coping with colourful crimes, such as murder, gang warfare, and the like, that, after all, is just what their parents might think after reading their newspapers. At the same time, let me hasten to add that this book is no epitome of a popular Sunday paper. Indeed, it is something of a refreshing surprise that so much can be written about police work without sex once rearing its ugly head; this is truly a book that the most fastidious can place in his son's—or daughter's—hands with confidence.

Even so, it is something of a disappointment. Despite its laudable ambition, to interest young people in police work as a career—it sets out the qualifications and some of the conditions of service of the police—it fails to paint the whole picture. Surely the policeman, in this country at all events, is something more than a thieftaker; and to fail, even in a book of this kind, to lay at least some emphasis on the increasing work of the police in the field of social service is to repeat and perpetuate the myth of that egregious villain that the Peeler replaced a century and a quarter ago, the Bow Street Runner. CHRISTOPHER WILLIAMS.

POLICE WORK WITH JUVENILES. By John P. Kenney and Dan G. Pursuit. (Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas. 1954. Pp. 325. 55s. 6d.)

Juvenile delinquency has come to occupy an increasingly more significant share of the time, energies and manpower of American police agencies. There has been an undercurrent of vague recognition that police procedures and techniques which might be necessary, appropriate, or pragmatically defensible as effective when applied to adult criminals were wholly unacceptable when the offender being arrested, interrogated, investigated, or confined was a youngster in the pre-adolescent or adolescent age groupings. This realization has led to the establishment of specialized juvenile bureaux, usually but not always within the police department, and for the most part manned by specially selected and trained juvenile officers. Concomitant to this development have been the publication of several police juvenile procedures manuals, the most intensive and successful of which is that offered by the Delinquency Control Institute of the University of Southern California for the past decade—'Police Work with Juveniles'. This manual presents by far the most complete and authoritative discussion of the administrative, organizational, operational and ethical problems involved in the police-juvenile relationship available at the present time. Its co-authors, John Kenney, an experienced police executive and teacher, and Dan

Pursuit, who came to the directorship of the Delinquency Control Institute from a successful career as a juvenile court referee, are well-accepted authorities in the juvenile field and they have covered the materials competently and professionally, handling the controversial areas with a commendable objectivity and avoiding the dogmatic approach so often a feature of manuals on the activities of such authoritarian organizations as the police and the military.

This reviewer cannot always agree with the authors; particularly when they ' beg the question ' on the important dispute as to police responsibility for ' crime preventive recreational programs '. And he finds their thinking somewhat confused, or their expression of it confusing, in their discussion of psychotherapy for juvenile offenders either by police officers with some training in psychology or by non-police therapists functioning within the authoritarian police setting. These are, however, minor faults which fade to nothingness when weighed against the virtues of the manual: an excellent consideration of the criteria for selecting and training police juvenile officers; a short but effective synopsis of current thought on building a healthy personality; repeated emphasis on the necessity for a co-ordinated community approach to the delinquency problem; and a down-to-earth survey of the special problems presented by the narcotics, sex, and youth gang offences.

' Police Work with Juveniles ' is a well-written, practical, and informative procedural manual for police executives faced with juvenile crime problems. It will serve as an introduction to the non-theoretical aspects of youth crime control for the criminologist, psychiatrist, educator, clergyman, and others tangentially concerned with adolescent delinquency phenomena. Students and practitioners of government at all levels will find it an interesting and provocative administrative case study of a much-complicated, increasingly serious public problem.

DONAL E. J. MACNAMARA.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett, with the co-operation of A. Bonnard, J. P. Martin and T. P. M. Morris.)

CRIMINOLOGY

H. BEKAERT: ' Circumstances which Aggravate Imprudence ', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1954, **3**, 235–250.

The author sets out statistics of mounting road casualties as a prime indicator of three types of carelessness whereby one individual can and does deprive another of their life or limb. If the plea is accepted that the consequent accident was unpremeditated, then the perpetrator can be confident that his punishment will be of a nominal nature. The author maintains that ' this intolerable laxity ' should not be tolerated any longer. Society has a right to demand our unremitting vigilance in all actions or pursuits, in which lack of consideration or carelessness can lead to another's endangerment. He defines categories of carelessness and careless acts, and suggests that their stricter recording would often give evidence of previous accidents culminating in the present manslaughter or injury. A. B.

MADEMOISELLE JANINE SEGERS: Preliminary Report on ' Arrogation of Key Roles in the Formation and Activity of Criminal Gangs ', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1955, **4**, 342–356.

A criminal gang, involving sixty-nine participants, which came to be known

as the ' Seurot Gang ', Seurot being the master brain who engineered a remarkable series of robberies between the years 1946 to 1950, is described, according to the functions of its key members. Seurot gave evidence against them, because he felt that they had exploited him unfairly. Whereas he took the risks of his own brilliance of planning and execution, he alleged that the ' fences ' paid him whatever inadequate sums they felt disposed. However, such a chain of organization for successful theft and disposal consisted of many links. Among them were the owners of cafes of ill-repute where plans were discussed and booty changed hands; there were the car thieves who provided the means of transport for the ' jobs '; there was the master tool maker who made specialized instruments for the purpose of housebreaking, and finally there were secret storage places owned by receivers who would dispose of the stolen goods on their terms. This piecemeal assessment of interlocking rôles makes it plain that (*a*) Seurot, the master brain, was not the gang leader but only its exploited operator, (*b*) that all the important members of a gang are co-criminals rather than accessories. A. B.

O. KINBERG and G. INGHE: ' Kriminalpolitisk terapi. Kriminologisk forskning. Professur i kriminologi ', *Svenska Läkartidningen*, 1954, **51**, 2922–2937.

L. BAUMGARTNER and B. M. BECK: ' Juvenile Delinquency ', *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1955, **89**, 62–69. (Progress in pediatrics; 11 references.)

PENOLOGY

GEORGE J. REED: ' The Federal Youth Corrections Act in Operation ', *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, 10–15.

A valuable account of the provisions of this Act, its philosophy and methods of operation. One short case history is given. J. P. M.

J. ROSS: ' Summary of Talk given to Annual Conference of Remand Home Superintendents, 1954 '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1955, **48**, 337, 339.

An outline of the present position of Remand Home places, the current use being made of Sec. 54 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948, the operation of detention and attendance centres, and present trends in juvenile delinquency.

T. P. M. M.

W. RAEBURN, Q.C., M.A., LL.M.: ' Crime and the Moral Outlook '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1955, **48**, 360–365.

In any society there must be the right to punish, but the concept of punishment must include the reactions of society as well as the mere sentence of the court. The moral temperature of the public in many cases determines what the offender is to suffer. The writer goes on to consider some methods of modern penology in the light of Christian attitudes towards offenders, and Christian standards of conduct. T. P. M. M.

J. NÉPOTE: ' The Police and Conditional Release ', *International Criminal Police Review*, 1954, **9**, 258–260.

A brief report is presented on a discussion concerning the problem of conditional release and parole at a conference organized by the Social Defence Section of U.N.O. in Geneva, 23rd August–3rd September, 1954. Conditional release should be selective, being a reward for the prisoner: ' It encourages him to behave and to attempt to rehabilitate himself socially.' A plan of conditional release by stages is outlined. The police cannot remain indifferent to the problems connected with the treatment of offenders. W. R. B.

Revue Française de Psychoanalyse, Vol. XVII. No. 3, 1953.

This number contains no articles of direct relevance to the study of delinquency, but Marie Barnaparte's brief article on the Sin of Orpheus in Hades, relating it to other myths and customs, has some interesting connections with punishment notions in primitive thinking. There are papers by Grimberger on oral conflicts in hysteria, and by P. C. Racamier on a clinical study of very early frustrations. E. M.

ALFONS T. WAHL: 'Probation and Parole in Germany'.
STANLEY B. ZUCKERMAN: 'Another Look at the German Prison System'.
Both in *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, 38–47.

Articles describing contemporary penological practice. J. P. M.

PSYCHIATRY

EDGER S. MYERS: 'The Caseworker's Problems in Meeting the Inner and Outer Needs of Clients', *The British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, October 1954, 27–34.

With detailed reference to case material the author sets out some reasons for selecting and rejecting some adult delinquents for psychiatric social work. T. P. M. M.

IRMI ELKAN and H. G. WILLIAMS: 'The Place of a Psychiatric Unit in a Children's Reception Centre', *The British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, October 1954, 35–46.

The work of one of the Centres set up under the Children's Act 1948 is described together with a discussion of the function of these Centres as Remand Homes for children under twelve. T. P. M. M.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

Revue Française de Psychoanalyse, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1954.

The most important article in this number is the discussion on the rôle of pre-oedipal conflicts by Emilio Servado; its central point is an examination of the Kleinian positions and the variant on these themes put forward by Edmund Bergler. The debate is continued critically by M. S. Nacht and M. Bouret.

Francis Pasche and others discuss the Freudian theory of instincts in regard to anxiety.

S. Lebovici and R. Diatkine discuss the phantasies of the child; important distinction being drawn between hallucinatory experiences, deep phantasies of the first months of life, and the phantasy constructions of the therapeutic situation. E. M.

Revue Française de Psychoanalyse, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1954.

The article of interest to students of delinquency is J. Pinatel's on Criminology and Psycho-analysis which concerns itself with methodological relations between the two disciplines.

Michel Eaun gives a contribution to the study of Voyeurism. E. M.

PSYCHOLOGY

HANS ASPERGER: 'The Dynamic Importance of Constitution, Milieu and Experience', *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, No. 9, 294–302.

The Head of the Orthopedagogical Department of the Children's Clinic in

the University of Vienna discusses the importance of individual personality in the assessment of hereditary and environmental factors in delinquency, the concepts of human freedom and responsibility, and some therapeutic problems which they involve. T. P. M. M.

SOCIOLOGY

ROBERT R. HANNUM: 'Employment Problems of Ex-Offenders', *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 184–187 and 197.

A general discussion of American problems in this field with some practical advice for job-seeking ex-offenders: emphasis is laid on the need for good publicity and also on the enormous variations of practice to be found in different States. J. P. M.

ELLIOTT STUDT: 'Casework in the Correctional Field', *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, 19–26.

This is a long discussion of the relationship between 'casework' as practised in voluntary agencies in America and 'correctional' work in its various forms. Reasons for the long-standing divergence between the two fields of social work are discussed and an analysis is made of the problems of applying casework methods in the special setting of correctional work. J. P. M.

LAW

DR. JACQUES LEY: 'Must We Modify the Law of Social Protection?', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1955, **5**, 420–426.

A Law pertaining to Social Protection was passed in 1930 and is now being considered for revision. It has been proposed that mentally abnormal wrongdoers should no longer be subject to it, since they need special provisions both for indictment and for therapeutic 'disposal'. Dr. Ley sets out ten propositions intended to show the clinical difficulties of distinguishing degrees, qualities and types of mental abnormality, since these need be neither static nor similar at all levels of cognition and behaviour. He stresses the importance of the variable factor of self-control. While agreeing that the present law has gross defects, he puts forward the plea that its revision should be postponed until such time as real facilities exist for skilled diagnosis and treatment of these special classes of offenders. Dr. Ley finds that this law, with all its manifest faults, works well in practice, and that so far from greater benefits accruing from its reform, as previously indicated, it will lead to a restriction of medico-legal collaboration. A. B.

ROBERT GROSEMANS: 'Considerations bearing on the Illegal Exercise of the Healing Arts', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1954, **2**, 159–180.

This study concerns itself with various aspects of the illegal activities of 'healers', in particular of their infractions of the professional practice of Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy. Certain of these activities such as hypnotism, suggestion and chiropractice are cited, but so, also, are abuses arising out of collision between doctor and pharmacist. It is shown that the Belgian law of 1818 is inadequate for the protection of the public, sometimes in regard to its own credulity and support of these abuses. A. B.

M. GUTTMACHER: 'The Quest for a Test of Criminal Responsibility', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1954, **111**, 428–433.

EDUCATION

EDWARD S. CONWAY, M.A.: ' Co-operation with Parents '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1955, **48**, 329–330.

There is no liaison with parents in the field of child care comparable with that between parents and teachers. Agencies have endeavoured to make good parental deficiencies by making adequate provisions for the children. Although the 'parent out of sight ' ought not to be the ' parent out of mind ', parents are supplanted rather than supported to a distressing degree.

While it is not advisable to make ineffectual parents undertake responsibilities beyond their capacities, they should be kept in active association with their children, even when deprived of the legal rights of parenthood. Child care workers should think of themselves as ' parent helpers ' rather than ' parent substitutes '. T. P. M. M.

MISS L. M. RENDEL: ' The Emotional Needs of the Delinquent Child '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1955, **48**, 331–333.

The disturbed child has a right to be considered as a unique person, not as one to be trained as a puppet personality. There is also a need to stimulate individual perception in order that the child may come nearer to knowing and understanding himself, and a need for teachers and helpers able to do this. T. P. M. M.

D. RIEHL: ' Analysis of the Organization and Operation of an Approved School for Girls, Brecourt, France '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1955, **48**, 333–337.

Re-education must employ methods adapted to the psychological state of the offenders concerned. A summary of the social and psychological backgrounds of the girls in the school is given with an outline of the rationale and form of treatment. T. P. M. M.

S. H. TAYLOR: ' Results Consequent upon Training in a Junior Approved School ', *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, No. 8, 256–263.

A discussion of the need for accurate information about the subsequent careers of Junior School boys, together with an examination of the statistics of ' success ' and ' failure ' in the period 1939–50. T. P. M. M.

D. H. STOTT: ' A Club in an Approved School ', *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, No. 8, 265–273.

An account of the club in a Senior Approved School run by the author for a period of three years. T. P. M. M.

R. V. SAUNDERS: ' Remedial Reading ', *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, No. 9.

A list of books suitable for reading by backward children, with accompanying notes. T. P. M. M.

SIMON PODAIR and BERNARD I. TABB: ' Group Education with Parolees ', *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, 33–37.

Describes an experiment in Harlem in the form of Adult Education Sessions for Parolees. Definitely not intended to be a form of group psychotherapy, although may achieve some therapeutic results as bye-products. Emphasis on Public Health, with talks on V.D., Mental Health, Addiction, etc., which may be of value to individual members of the group. J. P. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editorial Board.

Sirs,

In his critical notice of my book, ' 500 Borstal Boys ', Mr. Wilkins concentrates almost exclusively on the methodology. As a reviewer he is entitled to state his opinion frankly and, much as I should like to do so, I do not think it right that I should attempt to answer his criticisms in detail. I should only like to say that I regret that he did not see fit to refer to any but the methodological aspects of my book. The attitude he does take, however, raises questions which are of much wider relevance, and which ought not to pass without comment.

In the first place, the great merits of the statistical approach are not in dispute. Statistical method is firmly ensconced in the social sciences as an essential aid. The use of statistical models is, however, an aid which is not without its drawbacks, and the logic of the physical sciences, which it implies, is not entirely applicable. From knowledge of the behaviour of atom under known stresses one can deduce useful things about the atom itself, but we have no other way of dealing with the atom at all. Human beings, on the other hand, can be seen and assessed by the research worker, who is thus in immediate contact with his data. Now, it is true that many experiments have shown variations in assessment from one observer to another, but it does not follow that the extent of these is invariable in relation to the type of data upon which judgments are made. It is also important to note that no one is likely to claim that judgments on human behaviour are meaningless, only that they can be standardized by research methods. It is a valid criticism to say that subjective judgments are not as good as standardized judgments for the purposes of statistical handling but it is not valid to imply that therefore they are meaningless. Factors such as affection or defective discipline in the home emerge as important in the etiology of delinquency in a wide range of studies, and this seems to me to show that results based on subjective judgments are to some extent reliable and reproducible.

The point is important because there are a number of constantly recurring situations in social research in which one is faced with a serious dilemma over subjectivity. The procedure for standardizing judgments is complex, lengthy and even debatable and therefore often impossible to apply in practice. Are we, therefore, not to engage in any research which requires judgments of this type? An affirmative answer would at one blow reduce the effective field of criminological research (and of social research in general) to a very small compass. Are we to dismiss all work already done in which subjective judgments formed a large part? An affirmative answer would remove the majority of the work upon which modern criminology is based.

The situation obviously is not as bad as this, and in social research we ought undoubtedly to attempt to produce work which fulfils the canon of reliability as much as possible. But here a further complication arises. The research worker who sets up a statistical model to study human behaviour has to produce quantifiable data and he does so by abstracting from the whole personality and behaviour of the persons concerned certain aspects which appear to be relevant. By doing this he is not only making things easier for himself, but also creating problems.

The more he deals in actions and events which are ' objective ' the more he is dealing with data which are merely symptomatic and which it is difficult to relate back into the frame of reference of whole people living lives of their own. It is noticeable that Mr. Wilkins quotes as his criteria reliability, validity and power (does this mean ' effectiveness '?), efficiency and simplicity. He does not mention validity of interpretation, but it is precisely this which is most important. Having fed the data into our statistical machine and read off the results, what do they mean? Are we to stop short at saying ' A is significantly related to B ', or are we to try to fit this back into the common pool of knowledge and experience and to say ' this relationship means . . .' For immediately we accept this as the object, the position of the statistical machine changes in relation to the study as a whole. By ' validity ' Mr. Wilkins obviously means the internal consistency of the data, a use common among statisticians, but this is not what I understand by validity. The term, to me, means the effectiveness of the results in increasing my understanding of the human behaviour upon which the study is based.

It is for this reason that to me ' statistical methods are makeshift ' (the meaning of the phrase is quite clear) and can only go part of the way towards the answer I want. The statistical model is a useful machine, but no more than a machine. Further it is a machine which does not operate very well upon the type of data I want to put into it. From the point of view of the machine the best thing would be only to feed into it data it can manage well—this, I suspect, is Mr. Wilkins' answer. Personally, I am prepared to use data which is not so suitable, in the belief that the answers I get are, if not statistically the best, at least a little nearer what I see as understanding. This is, in fact, what my supposed rejection of objectivity amounts to.

The position seems to me to be clear enough. One can reproduce relationships such as those found by the Gluecks quite satisfactorily without confining oneself to objective data; indeed, I have done so. At the time my study was carried out only wartime data were available if a five-year follow up was to be allowed (which, at the time, I thought essential), and an elaborate design would have been inappropriate, even if I had had the resources to carry it out. Applying Mr. Wilkins' (and my) cânon of simplicity, there was little advantage in complicating the issue, and some danger. So far as attempts to ' type ' personality were concerned, these could not, from the available data, be anything but rough and ready, and ' objective ' definition was impossible. In general, objectivity would have meant excluding much of the data, or being so explicit that it would have needed a separate volume to argue the definitions. Sometimes attempts at defining the almost undefinable tend to force marginal cases into classifications which are governed by the difficulty of rigorous definition rather than by understanding. Applying my conception of validity, there were liable to be considerable dangers in abstracting objective data from the total sum, although this is clearly necessary to some degree to be able to take advantage of statistical methods at all. Thus the balance of advantages was not, in the circumstances in which my study was conducted, in favour of the kind of objectivity Mr. Wilkins would have wished to see. This may be heretical to the statistician, but it should be well understood by the student of human behaviour. (It should not be objected that I have produced an ' index of progress ' on the above basis. This is no more than a suggestion, occupying one page of print, and obviously not validated; indeed, a footnote refers back to a comment very similar to that made by Mr. Wilkins.)

It is a very useful thing indeed to show relationships between two sets of data. The before and after design, much as it may suffer from inversion of the usual logical processes when worked backwards,[1] produces relationships which are interesting. The problem then arises of their application. One way is to use them administratively as the educationist uses the general relationship between the results of intelligence tests and school achievement in a process of selection. Similarly one can produce prediction tables which may help the selection process for treatment. The other method is to consider what they mean by feeding them back into reality and seeing what difference they make. It is this which I feel contributes most to the process of understanding.

This process is, however, very difficult in sciences like criminology, in which reality is the complex behaviour of individuals operating in a complex society, and one is forced back upon one's understanding of a body of knowledge, and the insight which follows from this. Difficult and unsatisfactory as this may be, it has to be attempted. The process is not unlike that of the physical sciences, but the resemblance should not be taken too far. I very much doubt if the social scientist ought to adopt a philosophy of science which is based upon the physical sciences and I deny entirely that a belief that classifications conceal causes negates the use of statistical methods, as Mr. Wilkins claims. My attitude to this is outlined above. Nor do I see that Professor Adrian's remarks can be usefully cited in evidence, since there seems to be no particular reason why social scientists should wish to become acceptable on terms laid down by physical scientists.

There is undoubtedly much room for thought about the place of statistics, and the use of subjectivity and objectivity in the social sciences. It may be that since they only partially satisfy Mr. Wilkins' criteria, Burt, Healy and Bronner and the Gluecks have contributed very little to the science of criminology, and it may be that we have nothing to learn from the work of most psychiatrists and psycho-analysts. Perhaps Mr. Wilkins is right in believing that objectivity is always to be preferred to subjectivity, and that the philosophy and methods of the physical sciences are the only possible philosophy and methodology; but I do not think so, and I cannot but feel that there are many who would agree with me.

Yours, etc.,

A. G. Rose.

Mr. Wilkins writes: 'I dealt with methods in my review because I cannot see how results can be considered without reference to methods. Mr. Rose asks if I would dismiss all work based on subjective judgments, and my answer is no. I would attempt to replace judgments by "measurement", by "facts" and by observations. When the physician has a thermometer he does not need to assess the fever by an experienced hand on the patient's brow. The place of subjective judgments is in *advance* of measurement and should give place to it and proceed to tackle new areas. One should not complain that the thermometer does not measure blood pressure!

'Mr. Rose links (para. 2) statistical models with the logic of the physical sciences. But physics has proved, until recently, the discipline most resistant to statistical ideas. Statistics "imply" uncertainty (variability) concerning indi-

[1] *Cf.* John Madge. 'The Tools of Social Science', pp. 272–4.

viduals and seek ways of overcoming this by aggregating. As soon as we have two observations or two people can agree on what they mean by the words they use, then statistical methods can begin to be applied.

'The main difference between us seems to lie in that Mr. Rose desires to "understand" and to explore "meaning" and causes. I wish I knew what he meant by these words. He defines my concept of validity too narrowly and asks for a "validity of interpretation". By validity I do not mean merely "internal consistency" (reliability?) but external validity relating to specific criteria. I relate validity closely with utility. Meaning and understanding imply, in my view, merely *plausible* explanation. The fact that one solution (explanation) is more plausible than another—because one feels happier about it—cannot mean that it is more valid. Happiness, even of the scientist, has nothing to do with the scientific method or findings *as such*. Mr. Rose says that, to him, the effectiveness of results is judged by whether they increase his understanding of human behaviour. Is it, then, his subjective judgment of effectiveness that he asks us to accept as a criterion of effectiveness? What he may feel increases his understanding of human behaviour may not be so regarded by others. Surely we need firmer ground? But he says that he is prepared to reject results which are "statistically best" if another set seems to him to help in furthering understanding. This seems to be what he means when he says that statistical methods take him only part of the way towards the answer *he wants*.

'In my view the willingness to accept data (without subjective selection) is the basis of all scientific work, and not merely that of physics. I think that statistical methods can do what Mr. Rose wants them to do, but I am not sure, because I do not know what he wants to do. If I knew what exactly he meant by "understanding" and by "meaning" and how he would, in practice, assess one set of results as being more meaningful or more helpful than another, perhaps our difference could be resolved.'

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

GÖSTA RYLANDER, M.D., is Professor of Forensic Psychiatry at the University of Stockholm and member of the scientific council of the Medical Board and of the medical department of the Armed Forces. He is president of the forensic psychiatric section of the Swedish Medical Association.

JOHN JAMES, M.A., Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Sociology, Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon. He has taught at the Universities of California at Los Angeles and Oregon, and at Pomona College. His research interests fall primarily in the small group field.

MARY WOODWARD, B.A., studied psychology at the University of London and has been for two years Research Fellow of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency.